

THE CHURCH OF THE
HOLY APOSTLES
AT PERACHORIO, CYPRUS,
AND ITS FRESCOES

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THE village of Perachorio adjoins, on the west side, the main road from Nicosia to Limassol where it crosses the Yialias, eleven miles south of the capital. It lies within the administrative district of Nicosia and in the diocese of the Archbishopric. Its name doubtless derives from its position across the river from Nissou, which the traveller from Nicosia reaches first.

The diminutive church of the Holy Apostles stands on the fringe of the village, to the west, and has become the centerpiece of the village cemetery, crowning the low ridge which here bounds the fertile valley of the Yialias (fig. 1). Nothing is recorded of its origin, but the villagers know it as τὸ μοναστήρι and, although today there are no traces of conventual buildings, it is quite credible that the church once served a small monastery, one of the many the Byzantines founded in Cyprus between the campaigns of Nicephorus Phocas and Richard Lionheart.

A brief description of the buildings and its fragmentary frescoes was included in George Jeffery's account of the monuments of Cyprus,¹ and in 1934 it was visited by the authors of the account of the Asinou church,² on which occasion the frescoes of the dome were photographed by Vivian Seymer.³ Professor G. A. Soteriou, who visited the church about the same time, is expected to discuss the frescoes and to illustrate some of them in the second volume of his *Βυζαντινὰ Μνημεῖα τῆς Κύπρου*. Mr. Rupert Gunnis has drawn attention to the exceptional quality of what has survived.⁴

In 1940 the church was placed under the protection of the Antiquities Law of the Government of Cyprus,⁵ and six years later, when the frescoes were seen to be deteriorating through the bad condition of the building,⁶ its structural repair was put in hand. The work was carried out for the local Church Committee by the Department of Antiquities, with the aid of grants from the Government and the Archbishopric of Cyprus, the Cyprus Monuments Fund subscribed in the United Kingdom, and from the Harold Buxton Trust. The building was made watertight and the surviving areas of frescoed plaster were secured to the structure by plastering round the fractured edges.⁷ It remained to clean the surface of the frescoes, which was much obscured by grime, gypsum plaster, and whitewash carelessly applied.

So far as the dome and pendentives were concerned this task was completed

¹ G. Jeffery, *A Description of the Historic Monuments of Cyprus* (Nicosia, 1918), p. 339.

² Harold (Buxton, Bishop of) Gibraltar, V. Seymer, W. H. Buckler and Mrs. W. H. Buckler, "The Church of Asinou, Cyprus, and its Frescoes," *Archaeologia*, 83 (1933), pp. 327-350.

³ Antiquities Department, Nicosia, negative no. F. 880. The visit is mentioned by W. H. Buckler in "A Tour in Cyprus, 1934," *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 66 (1946), p. 63.

⁴ R. Gunnis, *Historic Cyprus* (London, 1936), p. 376f.

⁵ *Cyprus, Legislation of the Year 1940*, II, p. 238.

⁶ Photographs taken by Mr. Megaw record the condition of some of the frescoes at this stage: Antiquities Dept. neg. nos. A. 4336, C. 541 (our fig. 18), D. 487 (our fig. 16).

⁷ The progress of the work is briefly recorded in *Cyprus, Annual Report of the Director of Antiquities*, 1950, p. 10; 1954, p. 11 and fig. 1. Mr. Antonios Orphanou, the Department's Chief Foreman, was responsible for this and later structural work.

by Mr. Hawkins during a vacation visit to Cyprus in 1954. Simultaneously with the work on the frescoed surfaces, in which Mr. Elias Markou of the Department of Antiquities assisted, the masonry in the lost areas was exposed, repaired, recovered with lime-plaster, and toned with color to give a homogeneous appearance to the whole.⁸

Following a visit by Professor Paul Underwood in the summer of 1959, the Byzantine Institute agreed to lend to the Department of Antiquities the services of members of its Istanbul staff for the treatment of the remaining frescoes. The work was completed the following winter by Mr. Lawrence Majewski, Mr. Hawkins, and Mr. Constantine Causis, under the general control of Mr. Megaw, then Director of Antiquities. The incidental costs of the work, which included minor structural restorations,⁹ were met by further grants from the Government of Cyprus and the Archbishopric, secured through the support of the Minister of Communications and Works, Mr. Antonios Georgiades, under whose authority this cooperative project was conducted.¹⁰

The present account appears thanks to the kind concurrence of Dr. Porphyrios Dikaïos, Director of Antiquities. It is illustrated by photographs which are the property of the Department of Antiquities, and which were taken for the most part after the completion of the work by Mr. Kakoullis Georgiou, Senior Assistant in the Cyprus Museum.¹¹ Its main purpose is to present a reasonably complete record of the church and its frescoes; it does not attempt any definitive analysis of the style and iconography of the latter in comparison with other Byzantine monuments in Cyprus or elsewhere. These aspects of the Perachorio frescoes were briefly examined by Mr. Megaw in the course of a communication to the Twelfth International Congress of Byzantine Studies held at Ochrid in September 1961, which will be published in the Acts of the congress. The conclusion reached there was that these frescoes date from the period 1160–1180, and the claim was made that, although varying in quality of execution and provincial in context, they can yet throw some light on the main stream of Comnenian art, despite their mutilated condition.¹²

THE CHURCH

Externally the church measures only 7.67 m. in length, excluding the semi-circular apse, which projects a further 1.60 m., and 5.60 m. in width. It conforms with an architectural type commonly adopted in Cyprus for small domed churches from the twelfth century, if not earlier, of which that of the Panagia

⁸ *Ibid.*, 1954, p. 11 and fig. 5. During the work substantial remains of a Dormition came to light upon the removal of recent gypsum plaster (*ibid.*, fig. 3).

⁹ The north and south doors, which had at some time been widened, were reduced to their original dimensions and in the west wall, which is a reconstruction of comparatively recent date, a third door and a window above it were opened. The tasteless modern iconostasis was replaced by a curtain and its north abutment, which had been cut back, was restored to its original form.

¹⁰ For a summary account of the work see *ibid.*, 1959, p. 13 and figs. 6–7.

¹¹ Figure 31 illustrates an intermediate stage, after cleaning but before toning of the new plaster in the lost areas.

¹² A. H. S. Megaw, "Twelfth-century Frescoes in Cyprus," to appear in the Acts of the Twelfth International Congress of Byzantine Studies, Ochrid, 1961.

Arakou at Lagoudhera is a typical example.¹³ In this type, which has been called the *domed hall-church*, two of the four arches supporting the dome are extended as vaults to east and west, but the other two are engaged to the lateral walls. Each of these walls is further articulated by smaller engaged arches to east and west. The three arched recesses thus opened on either side had the effect of gaining a little floor space and economizing masonry, while leaving adequate mass at the four points above which the dome arches spring, by forming there what appear in plan as four internal buttresses or engaged pilasters (fig. a, 3). In the Perachorio church, as in the majority of the type, a further economy of material is effected by another device; the upper parts of the lateral walls are withdrawn at the four angles of the building to positions immediately above the arches over the four small recesses. This cutting-away at the four angles of the building produces a picturesque variation of roof-line, which, by isolating the gables, gives a cruciform character to the whole superstructure (fig. 1).¹⁴ This subtlety is lacking in the Lagoudhera church, but was evidently current in Cyprus in the twelfth century if we may judge by the parecclesion in the monastery of St. Chrysostom.¹⁵

The walls are some 0.68 m. thick and constructed of coursed rubble, employing a local shaley stone of poor quality, which at some points has disintegrated beneath the fresco plaster. Squared blocks of sandy limestone are used at the angles, in the gables and for arch voussoirs. In the arches a little brick is also used, notably for the springings, shoulders, and tops of the main arches.¹⁶ The masonry is set in a lime and river sand mortar having a high proportion of black grits, but no ground brick or tile. The joints were generously pointed with similar material, which extends to fill irregularities in the very roughly-dressed stonework and bring it to an even surface. The vaulting, where it was exposed during the repairs, was seen to be constructed of similar rough masonry.

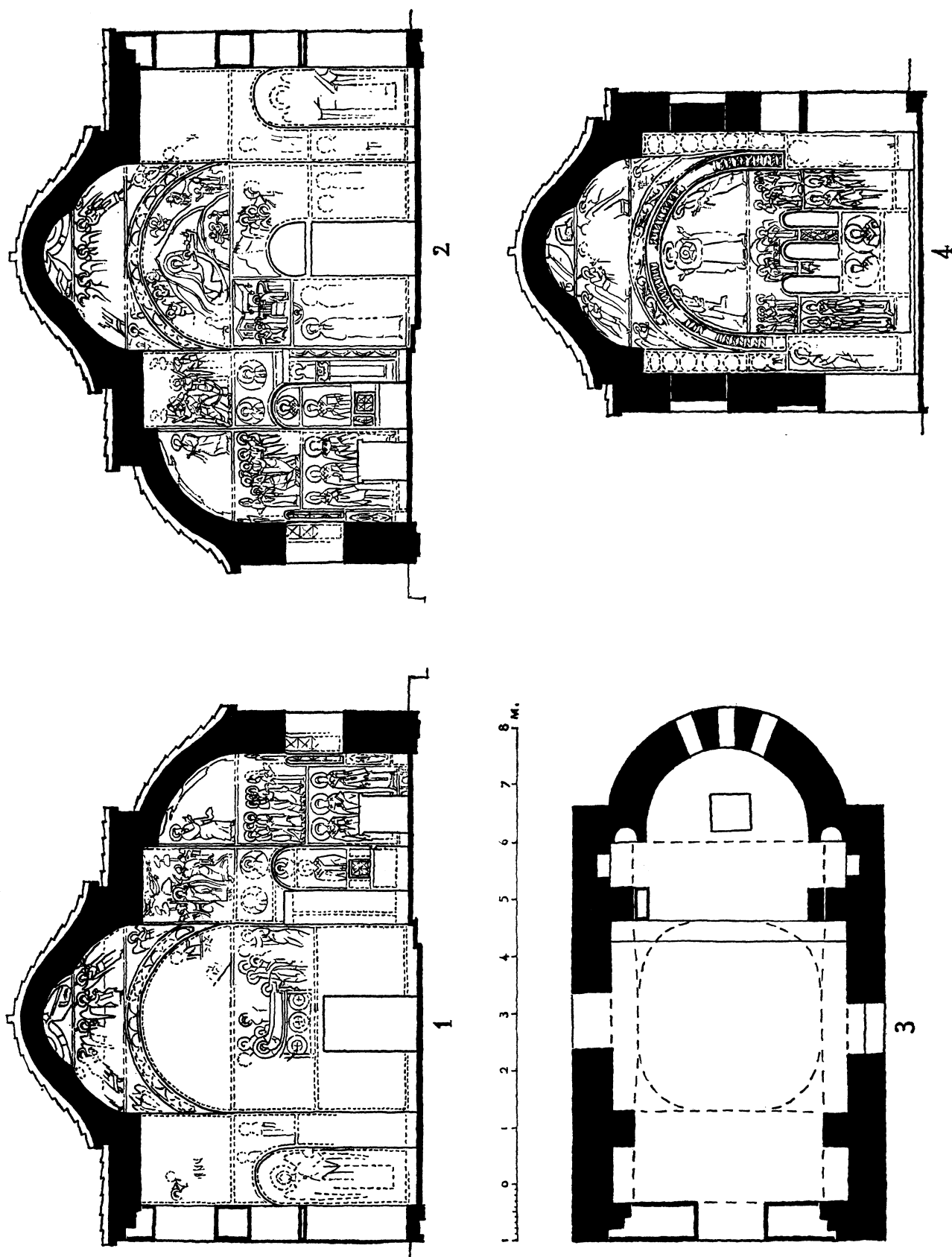
The two original entrances, in the north and south walls, have slightly stilted arches over wooden lintels, which extend into the jambs on either side to a distance of no less than 0.87 m. These arches, which have suffered some

¹³ Completed in 1192 (A. Stylianou *Αἱ τοιχογραφίαι τοῦ ναοῦ τῆς Παναγίας τοῦ Ἀράκου, Λαγουδερά, Κύπρος, Πεπραγμένα τοῦ Θ'. Διεθνoῦς Βυζαντινολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου*, I [Ἑλληνικά, Παράρτ. 9 (Athens, 1955)], pp. 459–467, pl. 142. For the date, see A. and J. Stylianou, "Donors and Dedicatory Inscriptions, Suppliants and Supplications in the Painted Churches of Cyprus," *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byz. Gesellschaft*, IX [1960], p. 101. Other examples: Panagia tou Kampou, Chirokitia (G. A. Soteriou, *Τὰ βυζαντινὰ μνημεῖα τῆς Κύπρου*, I [Athens, 1935], p. 43, fig. 32); Panagia Hypati, Ayios Amvrosios (*ibid.*, p. 47, fig. 36); Panagia Kardakiotissa, Sotira (*ibid.*, p. 47, fig. 35).

¹⁴ The external appearance is essentially the same as that of a church of the inscribed cross or cross-cupola type with a dome on four free-standing supports, in which the angle compartments are covered by similar sections of the outward-sloping roof. This raises the question of the origin of the domed hall-church, which would warrant separate examination: did it evolve from the single-aisle, vaulted chapel; or did it originate by amputation of the lateral compartments of the inscribed cruciform church and amalgamation of its external north and south walls with those of its central constituent?

¹⁵ Not dated, but since its arches and vaults are exclusively semicircular it is evidently earlier than the Lagoudhera church, where some are pointed (G. Jeffery, *Proc. Soc. Antiq.*, 28 [1915–16], p. 114 and fig. 3A; Soteriou, *op. cit.*, fig. 33 and pls. 29 and 30a; *Cyprus, Annual Report of the Director of Antiquities* 1958, figs. 16 and 17).

¹⁶ Also in the door and window arches, visible in fig. 1. The bricks measure on the average 0.26 to 0.27 m. wide and 0.035 m. thick; their length is nowhere visible.



a. Cyprus, Perachorio. Church of the Holy Apostles. Plan and Sections (1:100)

alteration, were originally of horseshoe form. Above the south door the arch is carried through to the inner face of the wall, where, on the east side, it retains its original form (fig. a, 2). The arch over the north door forms externally a shallow recess, behind which the solid wall is carried on the wooden lintels. Both of the small windows in the gables above these doors were walled up before the interior was painted. The west wall was at some time completely destroyed and was rebuilt, not long ago, with neither door nor window.¹⁷ The apse has the three slender lights separated by columns of masonry occupying the full thickness of the wall, which are usual in Byzantine churches in Cyprus.

The division of bema from naos was marked on either side by a masonry jamb 0.60 m. wide, 2.25 m. high and projecting 0.30 m. from the pilasters forming the eastern supports of the dome. That on the north had been cut away (it was restored during the repairs) but the southern jamb is intact and is seen to have been added after the erection of the main structure, though before it was decorated. The timber beam it supports, which is embedded in the wall at the north end, is probably a later replacement for the lintel of the original iconostasis, of which no trace remains.

The altar table consists of a solid block of plastered masonry 0.70 m. wide, 0.65 m. deep and 0.90 m. high. Two niches, vestigial prothesis and diaconicon, flank the apse, each a semicircular, conch-headed recess 0.40 m. wide, 0.70 m. high with sill at 0.65 m. above the floor (fig. 45). In each of the arched recesses in the lateral walls of the presbytery is a rectangular ambry 0.25 m. deep, 0.35 m. wide and 0.40 m. high (figs. 43-44).

The derelict roof-tiling, which was removed during the repairs, preserved some tiles of the larger rectangular type as well as half-round cover-tiles which doubtless derived from the original roof covering. Some of the cover-tiles were unusually narrow.¹⁸

Exceptionally, the dome has no drum and consequently no windows; instead it rests directly on the crown of the pendentives. It is also irregular in another respect: although the total height (1.60 m.) is approximately half the diameter (3.30 m.), it is by no means hemispherical. Instead, the lower part is of saucer form, up to the point at which the diameter is reduced to 1.70 m., where the curvature is sharpened so that the remaining central part has an almost hemispherical form. The unusual change of curvature afforded those who decorated the church two distinct zones: the central dome-within-a-dome for the Pantocrator, and the surrounding lower zone of flatter curvature for the angel escort. However, it is improbable that the builders constructed the dome in this form specifically in order that the painters might have a distinct receptacle for the central image. The irregularity of this and other relatively early domes in Cyprus is to be explained rather as the result of building with little or no timber centering.

¹⁷ These deficiencies have now been corrected, see *supra*, note 9.

¹⁸ One of the rectangular tiles measured 0.435 m. long, 0.035 m. thick (0.055 m. at the rim), with a lower width of 0.36 m. and an upper width of 0.30 m. The narrow cover tiles have been employed in the retiling of the roof, at the crown of the dome.

The main arches and the vaults are without exception semicircular, as they are in the early twelfth-century Asinou church, whereas at Lagoudera, completed in 1192, they are slightly pointed.¹⁹ The latter form, which is surely the later, is seen also in the arches of the church of Christ Antiphonitis,²⁰ which by the affinity of its frescoes with those of Lagoudera is datable to the late twelfth century, as well as in the Asinou narthex, which was probably added to the church proper at about the same time.²¹ Whatever its origins, the pointed arch became current in Cyprus by the end of the twelfth century and was not abandoned thereafter.

If by the absence of this feature the Perachorio church is shown to be anterior to the late twelfth century, its architectural form suggests that it is later than the first years of that century. The choice of a simple vaulted chapel, a single-aisle vaulted basilica, for the Asinou monastery²² implies that in 1106, when it was completed, the domed hall-church was not yet in general use in Cyprus for monastic churches of small size. The use of the arch of horseshoe form does not conflict with this indication for a date rather well advanced in the twelfth century for the Perachorio church; for the vogue it enjoyed among Byzantine church-builders elsewhere seems to have endured beyond 1150.²³

THE FRESCOES: TECHNIQUE AND PRESERVATION

The internal rendering for the painted decoration was a single coat of lime plaster with a generous lacing of chopped straw, averaging 0.015 m. thick and smoothed to a fair surface. On this the principal elements of the compositions were first sketched out, in light tones of red and ochre with some green shading; the main lines were then reinforced with a darker red, using a narrower brush. This preliminary sketch can be seen in most of the areas where the surface paint has flaked away, or been eroded as a result of the penetration of moisture. The faces have suffered extensively in these respects, but the interest of the flowing style of the sketch is some compensation for the losses which have brought it to light. Wherever it has been exposed it has a strikingly spontaneous character. In some cases it is clear that the master who thus laid out the scheme of the decoration adjusted his composition as he drew, in order to attain a desired effect within the restricted spaces available. Nowhere is there any trace of laborious copying. Unfortunately, in some areas where the original plaster

¹⁹ Stylianou, *op. cit.*, pl. 142f.

²⁰ G. A. Soteriou, *op. cit.*, fig. 14.

²¹ Harold (Buxton, Bishop of) Gibraltar and others, *op. cit.*, sections on p. 334f.

²² Seymer's conclusion (*ibid.*, p. 330f.) that the vault of the central bay of the Asinou church was secondary, arousing suspicions that it had replaced a fallen dome, was disproved during the repair of the roof in 1959. It was then observed that the upper surface of the vaulting was uniform and original from end to end. Seymer's sections (*ibid.*, p. 334) are incorrect in showing the primary transverse arches and the vaulting of the central bay in crosshatching: they should be black. In this respect Soteriou's section (*op. cit.*, fig. 30) is correct, except that the original and later parts of the transverse arches are not distinguished.

²³ The last of the examples collected by Orlandos ('Επειρηγὶς Ἑταίρ. Βυζ. Σπουδῶν, II [1935], pp. 411-415) is in the church of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus near Kitta in Mani, for which a date after 1150 has been proposed (Megaw, *Ann. Brit. School at Athens*, 33 [1932-33], p. 162).

is preserved the flaking or disintegration of the surface has carried away the sketch as well as the final painting, for example in the garments of St. Peter in the apse and in parts of the Nativity (figs. 13 and 30).

The sketch, for which thin pigments were used, was doubtless completed as soon as the wall was rendered. Truly *a fresco*, it seems to have been painted quickly and confidently, and with no little virtuosity in rendering facial character with a few deft strokes of the brush. The final painting was executed progressively *a secco* as the plaster dried. This does not seem in itself to have contributed to the losses of final paint, which were determined rather by the quality of the individual colors used. It is noticeable that the areas most subject to loss were either pure white or had a high content of white pigment in the color. The white inscriptions and the highlights in the decoration have suffered particularly, but extensive losses have also occurred in areas where body-color, composed of white with only a small admixture of other pigments, was used; notably the flesh tones and the lighter passages in the draperies. Indeed, liability to loss seems to have been in direct proportion to the white content of the color employed. This white content when applied to the wall, either as plain white or to give body to other colors, was evidently of a heavy texture, in the nature of an impasto, forming an independent coating over the plaster and the sketch. Whereas the thinner colors integrated with the latter, the impasto colors became laminose and, under adverse conditions, separated and flaked off. The process was continuing right up to the time when the protection of the frescoes was put in hand.

In the course of the conservation work it was often found possible to re-establish the letters of inscriptions, and occasionally other elements, where the original white had fallen; for traces of the lost forms could still be observed in the slightly different condition of the ground, where it had once been protected by the white paint. These traces, though often quite clearly visible at the moment of uncovering, could have been completely lost in the course of even the most circumspect cleaning. Had they not been re-established with new paint immediately, they would have been irrevocably lost.

The whole of the internal surface of both walls and vaults was painted. A low dado round the foot of the walls received an ornamental pattern, some 0.20 m. high, as did the faces of the main arches, the soffits of the smaller arches and those of the windows. All of the remaining surfaces were covered with figural subjects. The fields assigned to the individual subjects were defined by narrow bands of red, about 0.05 m. wide. In proportion to the small size of the building these fields are rather large in scale, and they are well adjusted to the architectural forms. For example, the whole of the lunette enclosed by the south arch of the dome has been assigned to a single subject, and the whole of the corresponding north lunette to another, necessitating the blocking of a window in each case. Within the individual fields there is a tendency to make the figures as large as possible and to suppress background architecture and other ancillary features. Consequently, the decoration achieves something of a monumental character, despite the small dimensions of the building. There is,

however, no case in which the figures appear overlarge for their situation, no discrepancy of scale to suggest the use of ready-made tracings or cartoons prepared originally for a larger church. It would seem that the master who planned this decoration had consciously avoided fragmentation of the few available areas, preferring to sacrifice completeness of the pictorial scheme in the interest of harmonizing architecture and decoration and of ensuring a maximum impact for the individual images.

Within the borders of the individual panels, the upper parts of the backgrounds, originally doubtless of a brighter tone, have weathered to a dark greyish blue, sometimes blue-black. In the lower part of each panel, up to a height of about one third of the whole, green is used as the background color. Exceptionally, the Pantocrator in the dome has a purple ground, a distinction at once appropriate to this conception of Christ the Ruler and effective in setting off the traditional blue of his himation.

The outlines and the darkest shadow lines of figures and objects are drawn for the most part in black, dark red and, less frequently, dark brown. The basic palette seems to have been restricted to earth red, yellow ochre, white, blue, purple, umber, and black. Apart from the common mixed colors a number of more subtle ones were used, including orange-red, greenish brown and blue-grey. Within each color a wide range of tone was used. Gradation of tones, notably in the draperies was normally effected by covering the whole area to be shaded with a medium tone, on which the darker shadow tones, as well as the highlights, were overpainted. A taste for strong accents of lighting has led to white being used for the lightest tones on a wide variety of colors and in the color range from light to shade some arresting juxtapositions are found. Thus a garment which is basically red, with dark red shadow lines and white lights, can have blue-grey for its middle tones.

Except in the bema, the lower parts of the walls have been extensively repainted. On the south wall the much eroded figures of Saints Peter and Paul (fig. 36), the panel of the Presentation above them (fig. 34) and the section of the Baptism above the left half of the south door (not shown on fig. 35) all belong to this redecoration. The fragments now exposed on the lateral walls of the west bay belong in part to the original series of standing saints, in part to those that replaced them. Elsewhere, however, the original frescoes, where they have survived, have escaped retouching of any kind; but their condition varies greatly.

When, at some time, the west wall collapsed, the adjoining parts of the interior evidently remained exposed to the elements for a considerable period, with the result that in the west bay nearly all the original plaster has fallen. Elsewhere the decay of the roof-tiling has led to leakages and consequent losses, often of the entire plaster, as on sections of the dome, the east vault, and the north lunette; and even where the plaster remains there are extensive defaced areas.

When the west wall was rebuilt, the interior was made presentable by rendering with gypsum, not only the sections which had lost their original

plaster, but also considerable areas (including the whole of the fragmentary Dormition) where this had survived but where the frescoes were not in good condition. All this gypsum was removed during the repair of the building, and as a result considerable sections of the decoration that previously were not known to exist were brought to light.

THE PROGRAM

(fig. a, 1, 2, and 4)

The focus of the whole decoration is, as usual in domed churches, a bust of Christ Pantocrator in a medallion at the summit of the dome, but the demands of reasonable scale necessitated abbreviation of the full Pantocrator scheme. Thus the prophets, who commonly stand between the windows holding the texts of their Messianic testimonies, have been suppressed in this drum-less dome. This has made it possible to surround the central Pantocrator with an escort of full-length angels (fig. 3). They form a continuous procession, contrasting both with the strictly frontal figures of the Cappella Palatina and with the series of busts confined in roundels which were in vogue in the late twelfth century.²⁴ The Mother of God, in the role of intercessor, on whom the procession converges, echoes her principal image in the apse. Her presence here owes something to the iconography of Ascension domes, though it is fully in tune with the conception of the Second Coming that the Pantocrator evokes.

To the Pantocrator scheme belong also the tetramorph and hexapterygon who occupy the two western pendentives (figs. 10 and 11). The application of the full program conceived for a church of the inscribed cruciform type would call for one of these apocalyptic figures in each of the four pendentives. Here the demands of compression have introduced the Annunciation into the two eastern pendentives. They have also led to the omission of the Evangelists, who became in the twelfth century the more usual occupants of the pendentives in the larger churches. The choice of the apocalyptic figures at Perachorio, rather than the two pairs of evangelists who fill the western pendentives of the Lagoudera church, connects it with earlier dome programs.²⁵

Linked with the decoration of the dome, but located in the lowest zone of all, are the intercessor figures of the Mother of God (fig. 48) and John the Baptist, flanking the iconostasis. Together with the Pantocrator in the dome, they comprise a Deesis and underline the eschatological aspect of the dome program.

The apse did not present the same problem of compression, and here the arrangement of the Asinou church is closely followed (fig. 2). The Mother of God with her attendants occupies the conch, but, in place of the Archangels

²⁴ E.g. Lagoudera (Stylianou, *op. cit.*, pl. 152. A detail of one of the medallions is illustrated in Megaw, *op. cit.*, fig. 11). Cf. Asinou narthex, where the medallions recur in a drum-less Pantocrator dome forming the centerpiece of a Last Judgement painted in 1333, but possibly reproducing a late twelfth-century scheme. The narthex is an addition to the original building of late twelfth-century style (see *supra*, page 284) and where the original paintings are visible, here and there in the lower parts of the walls, they are seen to have been followed closely in the redecoration.

²⁵ E.g. Thessaloniki, church of Panagia ton Chalkeon, A.D. 1028 (D. E. Evangelides, 'Η Παναγία τῶν Χαλκείων [Thessaloniki, 1954], p. 55 ff. and pl. 11b). For Lagoudera, see Stylianou, *op. cit.*, pl. 145.

Michael and Gabriel, St. Peter and St. Paul, as patrons of the church, stand on either side (fig. 12). This grouping is unusual but not altogether unprecedented.²⁶ The rest of the apse is devoted as usual to a scheme inspired by its architectural function as a receptacle for the altar and as a background for the celebration of the Eucharist. A continuous band round the upper part of the wall is filled by the Communion of the Apostles, in which, from a central altar, two figures of Christ give the sacraments to six apostles on either side (figs. 21–23). In the lower zone six illustrious Orthodox bishops face the altar to inspire the priest who there officiates (figs. 26 and 27). Among them the place usually given to Cyril of Alexandria has been assigned by local pride to Lazarus, who according to the tradition of the Cypriot church became the first bishop of Citium; while below the apse windows busts of the Apostle Barnabas and St. Epiphanius, both of whom brought honor to Salamis-Constantia, have been given central positions.

This part of the decoration is completed in the lateral arches of the bema, in each of which are standing figures or busts of four more bishops, making a total of fourteen. These likewise include representatives of the local Church, including St. Heracleidius of nearby Tamassus and St. Spyridon. Four medallions on the walls of the bema, two on either side, are reserved for busts of Old Testament figures (figs. 40 and 41). The inscription of only one, Abraham, is legible; the remainder no doubt represent other patriarchal figures in the role of Ancestors of Christ, commonly placed below the dome. Though the inclusion of others who, like Abraham, evoke prefigurations of the Eucharist, such as Melchizedek and Elijah, would under normal circumstances be appropriate in the bema.

The principal remaining positions above the ranks of saints who line the walls were assigned, as was customary, to scenes from the festival cycle. Of these, eight have survived, or can be identified from fragments, in the following positions:

Annunciation	east pendentives
Nativity	south lunette
Presentation ²⁷	south wall
Baptism	south wall

²⁶ We have it on the authority of Constantine Porphyrogenitus that Basil I, having repaired the west arch of the dome of St. Sophia following the earthquake of A.D. 869, had it adorned with a representation of the Virgin and Child between St. Peter and St. Paul. The early twelfth-century mosaic of the enthroned Virgin and Child between the two apostles in the apse of Capua Cathedral, which was recorded by Ciampini before its destruction about 1720, probably owed less to Byzantine than to local models, such as the lost Desiderian apse mosaic of Christ flanked by Saints Peter and Paul in the Benedictine church of the same city (E. Bertaux, *L'art dans l'Italie méridionale* [Paris, 1903], p. 196 and fig. 76). With the latter we may compare the figures of the two apostles flanking the monumental image of the enthroned Christ on the west wall of the Cappella Palatina (O. Demus, *The Mosaics of Norman Sicily* [London, 1949], pl. 39). In Russia by the late twelfth century even local saints could be promoted to such places of honor: witness the figures of Boris and Gleb on either side of the Blacher-nitissa in the apse of Spas Neriditza (N. Sychev and V. K. Miasoedov, *Freski Spasa Nereditzy* [Leningrad, 1925], pl. xxiv).

²⁷ Assuming that the late representation of this scene now existing replaced a version belonging to the original series.

Anastasis	north lunette
Ascension	east vault
Pentecost ²⁸	west vault
Dormition	north wall

These account for all the space available except on the west wall, as to which there is no evidence, and two small panels on the side walls of the west bay. The latter are much reduced by the presence of the arched recesses and retain remains of isolated figures which cannot belong to scenes from the festival cycle. There is room on the west wall for a minimum of two or a maximum of four scenes, according to the division of the available space. If the scheme of the north wall was followed there would be only two: one in the lunette with the gable window blocked, and one below it, likewise occupying the full width of the wall and precluding a window in the arch over the door. On the other hand, it does seem likely that the lower zone was bisected by a lunette window over the west door, on the pattern of the south wall; for this would explain the transfer of the Dormition from this, its normal place, to the corresponding zone on the north wall.²⁹ In that case, the most probable arrangement of scenes would be the Raising of Lazarus (or the Transfiguration) and the Entry into Jerusalem in the lower zone and the Crucifixion occupying the whole of the lunette above. This would give an appropriate sequence in the three lunettes, which are the most prominent positions: Nativity, Crucifixion, Anastasis.

Apart from the Dormition, the arrangement of the surviving scenes is orthodox enough. The cycle starts in the central area with the Annunciation in the two eastern pendentives (figs. 28 and 29), continuing clockwise to the south wall with the Nativity (fig. 30) and, below it, the Presentation (fig. 34) and the Baptism (fig. 35), thence to the lost scenes of the west wall, representing the adult life and Passion of Christ, followed by the Anastasis on the north. From there the eye is carried easily to the Ascension (figs. 38 and 39) and thence to the Pentecost, occupying the whole of the east and west vaults respectively, as befits compositions originally conceived for domes.

Among the single figures who complete the scheme, the highest place is given to a series of martyrs. These commonly figure on the dome arches, and here, in conformity, they have been assigned the soffits of the lateral arches, above the lunettes. Only a few are preserved, in medallions, on the south side (fig. 50). Below these, on the west jambs of the lateral dome arches, are remains of two full-length figures. Adjoining them in the same zone, which corresponds to the lower scenes of the festival cycle, there are traces of similar figures on the lateral walls of the west bay. The first on the south side holds a scroll, the inscription of which is too defaced for identification, and, like the corresponding

²⁸ The identification of the fragments on the west vault as parts of a Pentecost covering the whole vault is not beyond doubt; the possibility does exist that they belonged to two other scenes, one on either side of the vault (see *infra*).

²⁹ The reason for the similar abnormality in the Lagoudera church, where the Dormition is on the south wall (Stylianou, *op. cit.*, pls. 143, 2 and 153), is equally a matter for conjecture, since the west wall was entirely removed when the original narthex was demolished. Mr. Stylianou has suggested that the latter had carried a Crucifixion and other scenes from the Passion (*ibid.*, p. 465, note 1).

figure on the north wall, is represented full length. The remaining figures of the series, evidently two on either side, were reduced to busts by the intrusion into this zone of the two small arched recesses. Probably all eight of this series of figures were prophets, who would normally have been placed in the dome. Their position in the west bay corresponds to that of Abraham and his three companions in the bema.

In the same zone, on the east jambs of the lateral dome arches, are remains of two more single figures, reduced to half-length by the extension of the Deesis panels into this zone (fig. 2). With hands raised in front and beardless chin, that over the Virgin may be a representative of the Holy Women.

Within the lateral arches of the west bay are two fragmentary full-length figures of archangels, surely Michael and Gabriel, relatively large in scale, since their recesses occupy not only the lowest zone but also a substantial part of that above it: a befitting prominence in view of their expulsion from the conch of the apse. The soffits of these arches had each a pair of half-length saints. The remains of that on the east half of the northern soffit suggests that these may have been four Anargyroi.

The lowest zone in the apse and bema is occupied by the bishops already mentioned, fourteen in number. On the south jamb of the iconostasis is Symeon Stylites (fig. 44), his column conforming happily with its architectural position. Daniel Stylites no doubt once occupied the opposite jamb. The relatively large figures of Saints Peter and Paul of the second period to the east of the south door (fig. 36) probably replaced three other smaller saints of the original series, corresponding in height with the others in this lowest zone. The larger figures of the patrons were doubtless added when some raising of the iconostasis concealed from the view of the congregation the representations of the apostles that have survived in the conch of the apse. Elsewhere in the lowest zone the repainting undertaken at this juncture seems to have conformed closely with the original series of saints, but of neither period are there any substantial remains. On the west wall can be seen something of the bearded head of the most southerly of the six standing saints who would have been required to fill it; monks in all probability. A female head survives on the east jamb of the north arch in the west bay. In all, twenty-four such figures would have completed the decoration of this lowest zone of the naos, or church proper.

THE FRESCOES OF THE DOME

The medallion containing the Pantocrator, 1.70 m. in diameter, is framed by a border of stylized acanthus leaves (fig. 4). The leaves, which are interrupted by a rosette on the east side to mark the axis, include a few trefoils but for the most part have five points. They are yellow on a purple ground and highlighted with dots of white on each point. Within the frame the ground is purple, outside it, blue.

The bust of Christ is set as usual with the head to the west. The inscription IC XC, in which the accents are indicated at the end of the abbreviation signs,

is in white on the purple ground.³⁰ Christ blesses with the right hand, touching the two small fingers with the thumb, and with the left holds a closed book to His breast. Notably broad-shouldered, He wears a brown chiton, largely concealed by a blue himation; on the right side a *clavus* is prominent, ornamented with a tight rinceau traced in purple on yellow and bordered by rows of pearls on black (fig. c, 11). The left cuff is enriched with vermiculation, again in purple on yellow, and edged with yellow stones. The folds of the chiton, where the darker tones shade into black, are given a realistic plasticity by varying the depth of shadow cast on them by the edge of the himation. The lighting from below is noteworthy and perhaps justifies the hard black outline of the chiton at the neck.

The himation is dark blue with black outlines and fold shadows and lighter blue highlights. It drapes obliquely from the left shoulder, where it covers most of the arm and part of the book, and forms a bold curve round the blessing hand, behind which it covers the whole right shoulder, where commonly, and somewhat precariously, it reappears only as a segmental loop of drapery. It is seen again on the left shoulder where it hangs forward over the starting-point and down behind the book. The clarity with which the himation is drawn contrasts with the confused draperies of some Pantocrators. The book has a yellow cover with a jewelled cross, "gammas" at the corners and a border of stepped crosses, as "crenellated lozenges," all in purple and white. The clasp ribbons are indicated by double black lines across the purple and black edges (both side and top are seen), their circular fastenings in white. The left hand, short, and without the usual spreading fingers, is defaced within its black outlines but the right, which is somewhat better preserved, combines a delicacy of modelling with the exaggerated gesture of the elongated fingers.

The head is surrounded by a cross nimbus of yellow color, rather small in proportion to it, the result of setting-out the nimbus with the radius of the medallion for diameter. The jewelled edging, which at the top is tangential to the medallion frame, repeats the border of the Gospel cover, the yellow crenellated lozenges here bordered with white on a black ground (fig. c, 2). The arms of the cross are jewelled with a diaper of the same motif in multiple rows of alternating colors, combining black, grey, red, yellow, and white. The head is rounded, the outline of the hair departing little from a circle centered slightly lower than the nimbus. The thick hair and rather short beard are brown, the former lined with yellow highlights. A lock of hair hangs over the himation on the right shoulder.

The left side of the head is much defaced, but on the right cheek the original surface paint remains to reveal a smooth gradation of tone. This is used effectively to give prominence to the cheek-bones without recourse to harsh shadows or linear elements. The face is less oval, the eyes further apart, and the nose shorter than in the Lagoudera Pantocrator, and the arms are less wide apart. These differences, in the light of Professor Demus' analysis of the

³⁰ The \overline{IC} is in original paint; The \overline{XC} was re-established on traces of the original in 1954.

development of the Pantocrator type as evidenced by the twelfth-century Sicilian mosaics, indicate that the Perachorio fresco belongs to an earlier stage in the development than that reached at the close of the century.³¹

The angel zone below the Pantocrator (fig. 3), which averages 1.40 m. high, has a green ground for rather more than one-third of the height, the upper part being blue darkened almost to black. The inscription at the top is split into thirteen syllables set in the spaces between the heads, close to the upper border. Starting at the southeast it reads: καὶ | προ|σκυ|νη|σ[άτ|ωσαν | αὐτ]ῶ | π[άν]τες | ἄ|γγε|λοι | θ(εο)ῦ. This is from the Septuagint text of Deuteronomy 32:43, which is quoted verbatim in Hebrews 1:6. The interest of this excerpt from the Song of Moses is the possibility that it derives from the decoration of earlier Ascension domes. In the Ascension Day service there are two references to Moses: in the first troparion of the orthros, where the scene on the Mount of Olives is linked with the giving of the Law on Mount Sinai;³² and in the second canon of the seventh ode of the orthros, ascribed to Joseph the Hymnographer, where this very passage is paraphrased.³³

On each side, a team of adoring angels proceeds from west to east, where stood the Mother of God, *orans*. Only part of her nimbus, yellow outlined with white and black, her right hand, and below it the edge of her purple maphorion are preserved. On the wrist the tunic is seen, blue outlined in black with three yellow bands on the cuff.

Parts of all ten angels are preserved, but only three are reasonably complete. None is named, but some at least are conceived as archangels, since they wear the *loros*. Despite the large gaps, enough survives to make possible a reconstruction of the whole scheme. The sketch in figure b makes it clear that there was room for five figures, but no more than five, in each procession; also that at the point of departure, on the west side, the last two angels turned their backs on each other without leaving any space to spare for an axial feature on this side. The composition is seen to be well co-ordinated with the architectural setting: the focal group with the Mother of God over the east dome arch, a pair of advancing angels over each of the lateral arches, the two last forming a symmetrical pair over the west arch, while the remaining two, the fourth in each group, stood separately over the two western pendentives, distinguished by their static frontal pose. At the same time the whole procession is knit together by slight overlapping of the wings, though in no stereotyped manner,³⁴

³¹ Demus, *The Mosaics of Norman Sicily* (London, 1949), pp. 306–307. Moreover at Lagoudera there is progress in simplification, notably in the minimal amount of ornamental detail (Stylianou, *op. cit.*, pl. 152).

³² Πεντηκοστάριον, ed. Spyridon Zervou (Athens, Saliverou, n.d.), p. 168.

³³ Ψάλλων πάσαι Μωϋσῆς ὁ μέγας ἔκραζε
προσκυνησάτωσαν ἀνερχόμενῳ Χριστῶ
οὐράνιοι ἄγγελοι, ὡς τοῦ παντός βασιλεῖ.

Ibid., pp. 171–172. We are indebted to Mr. John Zizioulas for the identification of this text.

³⁴ The first angel on the north is represented further from the viewer than the Virgin, the tips of whose fingers overlap the edge of its forward wing (fig. 8). The second angel is beyond the third, whose nimbus and fingers overlap the latter's right wing (fig. 7). The nearer position of this third angel is confirmed by its relation to the fourth, whose forward wing is partly masked by the former's right wing. On the south side also the third angel is represented nearer to the viewer than those that precede and

and monotony is avoided by varying the wing positions³⁵ and by a rhythmic balance of repose and movement, as well as by color alternations.

All the angels have the yellow nimbus with white and black outlines. Their hair, variously rendered straight or curly, is brown in all cases with darker brown or black shadows and yellow lights. They wear white hair fillets, of which the Π-shaped ends are seen on the nimbus on either side. The flesh color is brown with darker brown shadows and yellow lights. The coloring of the wings is the same throughout: the long feathers on the upper edges black, those on the lower white, elsewhere purple with yellow lining. All wear red buskins decorated with pearls, the feet in many cases extending over the lower border. Here identity ends, for the poses and costumes vary greatly, though the demands of symmetry have imposed a certain similarity in the corresponding figures on north and south.

The first angel on the north, at the right hand of the Mother of God, stands with both hands extended to her (figs. 5 and 8). Over a chiton, seen only at the ornate cuffs, it wears a loose-sleeved purple over-tunic or *sticharion* shadowed with black and having a double stripe of white across the upper part of the right sleeve. The brocade hem, trimmed with pearls, is rendered in purple and yellow. It wears a yellow *loros* forming a loose collar round the neck, with the short end hanging down in front and the longer wrapped round the waist. It is divided into squares by bands of red set with pearls, each square containing a red jewel with white setting and claws. Pearl drops hang in pairs from the lower edges. What appears to be a napkin hangs down in front, over the left forearm. Red-purple in color, of a lighter tone than the *sticharion*, it is ornamented in white and its folds are suggestive of silk. It may well have been shown thus through misunderstanding of the sketch; for in its place one would have expected the end of the *loros* which, appearing from under the part wrapped round the waist, is commonly carried on the left forearm to prevent it trailing on the ground. The end of the *loros* is carried in this way by the fourth angel on the south side (fig. 9). The wings of this leading angel are noteworthy for the cruciform parting of the feathers at the top. The pear-shaped head, slightly bowed and seen in three-quarter view, is relatively well preserved. It is characterized by a long, sharp nose and a narrow chin.

Of the companion angel, on the other side of the Mother of God, the upper part is lost except for the left wing, the top of the nimbus and the tip of the right wing behind it. From these and the surviving lower part of the figure, it is

follow it. The fourth on the south side in turn stands forward from the fifth and last, the edge of its left wing slightly overlapping the fifth's upturned forward wing (fig. 9). Exceptionally, the leading angels on each side are entirely separated from those that follow them.

³⁵ The leading angels have their forward wings in the "alighting" position, behind the nimbus, as does the second angel on the north. The second angel on the south, however, has the forward wing hanging vertically and the other extended obliquely behind. The wings of the third on each side correspond, the forward wing in the "alighting" position. The fourth on each side, those which alone were represented frontally, might be expected to conform as regards the wings also; but in fact they differ: that on the north has a hanging forward wing, while the other has it behind its nimbus (fig. 9). The last angel on the south conforms with its neighbor on this side, but no part of the wings of its northern equivalent is preserved.

evident that the pose was similar; though the broader hem of the purple *sticharion*, embroidered with linked palmettes alternately hanging and erect, shows that there were differences of detail.

The second angel on the north is the best preserved; only the bottom of right leg is missing (fig. 6). It is moving forward with bent knees and hands outstretched, the left covered by its chlamys, the top garment of all those who do not wear the *loros*. Over a chiton with brocade cuffs it has a grey *sticharion* with white highlights and topped by a deep collar, which appears on the shoulder. Of yellow color, the collar is reticulated in purple and edged with pearls. A blue cross-on-square motif, edged with purple, occupies each compartment. This ornate collar feature extending to the shoulder suggests that here, if not in other cases, the *sticharion* is the imperial *divitission*, or *sticharion-basilikon*. The chlamys is fastened with a jewelled brooch in front: purple with black outlines and shadows, it is highlighted with a lighter purple, and, leaving the right arm uncovered, it falls from the covered left hand in hanging folds to below the knee. The face of this angel is the only one that is perfectly preserved, but the same characteristics, the pear-shaped outline, the firmly drawn features and the smoothly graded flesh tones, are also distinguishable in some of the others. Unlike its curly-headed companions, this angel has notably straight hair.

Of the corresponding second angel on the south, the wings, the nimbus, the top of the head and the outline of the upper part of the body alone survive (fig. 3). The outline and the position of the feet indicate that the pose was similar and that at least one of the outstretched hands was covered by the chlamys.

The third angel on the north has both hands uncovered, raised, and extended (figs. 3, 5, and 7). Between them are seen some yellow folds, perhaps representing part of a chlamys draped over the left shoulder. The grey *sticharion* forms a v-shaped opening at the neck and reveals the chiton beneath, which casts a dark shadow on the neck. Curly hair distinguishes a head otherwise similar to that of the adjoining second angel. The lower part of the figure is missing except for the left foot, the position of which indicates a pose resembling that of the companion figure in front. In the cruciform parting of the feathers at the top of the right wing a detail of the leading angel is repeated.

The same parts of the corresponding third angel on the south are preserved, except for the hands, which were held lower (fig. 3). Here both feet are preserved, in positions indicating a brisk stride forward. Here too the *sticharion* is grey, but with a deep collar or shoulderpiece suggestive of the *divitission*. At the deeply dipping v-shaped neck it casts a shadow on the chiton, here blue-grey with a yellow collar. A red chlamys is draped over the right shoulder.

The fourth angel on the south, who stands over the southwest pendentive (fig. 9), is preserved almost entire, unlike the corresponding figure on the other side, though in part the surface paint is eroded. Like the two leaders, it wears the *loros*, but in its static, frontal pose it differs entirely from its companions, and it alone carries sceptre and orb, though it probably shared this distinction

with the corresponding figure on the north. Only the inclination of its head serves to link it with the rest of the procession. Over a chiton, of which only the brocade cuffs are seen, it wears a light red *sticharion*, boldly shaded with darker red and ending in a broad hem which has lost its ornament. The *loros*, painted in yellow and purple, is edged with pearls and divided by pearled bands into panels containing colored stones: square where it wraps round the waist, circular on the section forming a collar, lozenge-shaped on the end hanging down in front. The other end appears from under the section wrapped round the waist and hangs over the left wrist; here the reverse is seen: purple with sparse ornamentation in white. The sceptre in the right hand is decorated with pearls at the top and ends in a trefoil head. The orb in the other hand is white; its outline, double cross, and the sigla IC XC are all painted in red.

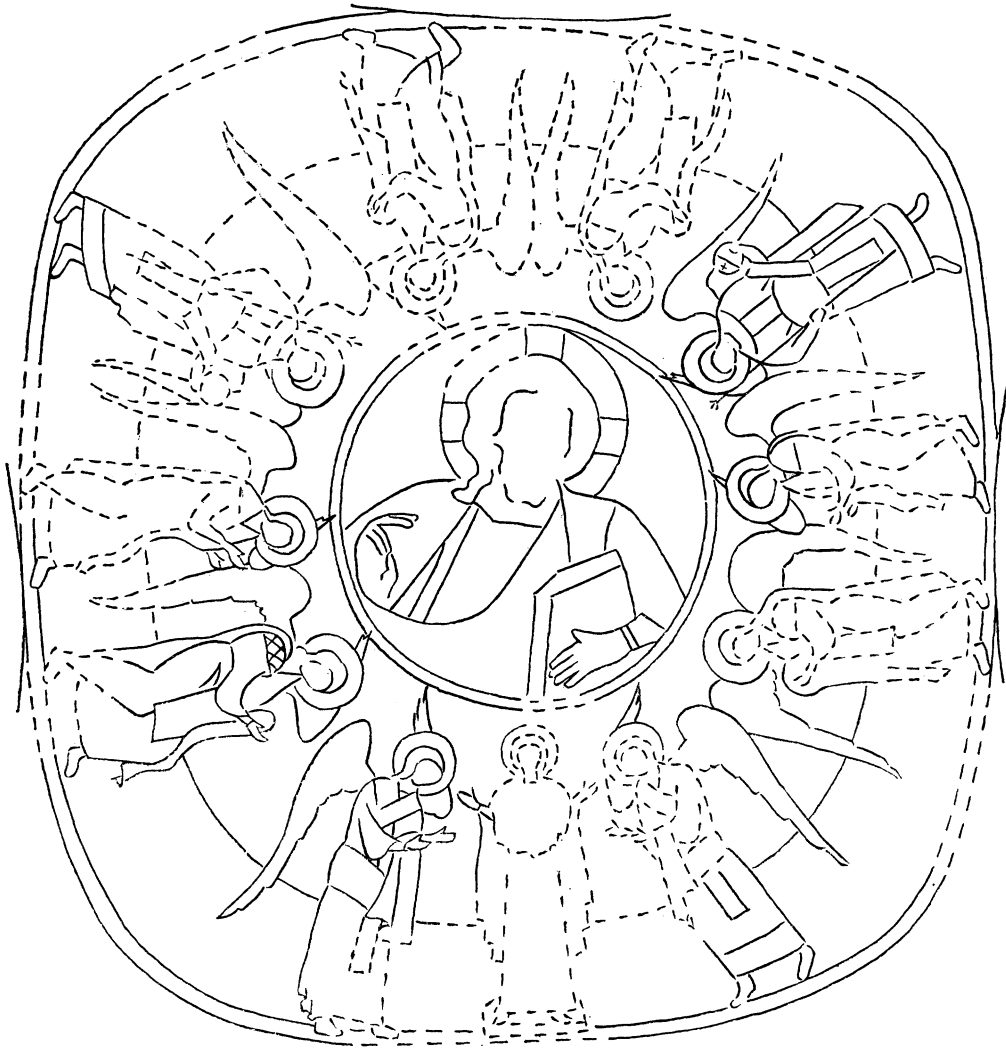
Of the corresponding archangel over the northwest pendentive, only the lower part and the outline of the head have survived. The *sticharion* is purple with a broad yellow hem edged with single rows of pearls (fig. 3). This and the end of the *loros* hanging in front of the lower part of the *sticharion* in a central position indicate that here also the pose was frontal, despite the inclination of the head, of which the outline is preserved, in the direction of the procession. The other end of the *loros* appears as a group of hanging folds and seems to have been misunderstood by the painter and rendered as if it were a napkin draped over the left wrist, as in the case of the leader of this procession. Robed as an archangel and repeating the pose of the corresponding figure on the south, it is probable that in this case also the sceptre and orb were carried. These symbols of dominion and the arrested pose of the archangels who carry them accentuate the first function of the procession as an escort for the Pantocrator. The leaders, who are otherwise similarly portrayed, carry neither orb nor sceptre as they bow to the Virgin.

Of the fifth and last angel on the north, only the feet, indicating brisk forward movement, and the lowest parts of a grey *sticharion* are preserved (fig. 3). The latter has white highlights and ends with a yellow hem edged with single rows of pearls on bands of purple. Of the immediately adjoining last angel of the procession on the south side, only parts of the nimbus and of the left wing behind it have survived. From the scanty remains of these two figures over the west arch, it is reasonable to suppose that while they moved in opposite directions, as indicated in figure b, they matched in pose the pairs in grey *sticharia* over the lateral arches.

The two eastern pendentives are occupied by the Annunciation, which is described *infra* with the other scenes of the festival cycle.

The western pendentives accommodate two apocalyptic figures: a tetramorph in the southwest, a hexapterygon in the northwest. Of the former, little has survived (fig. 10), but the lower wings are clear and between their tips, the feet and the hem of a garment in yellow and red with pearls. Between the tips of the upper wings, which are eroded, the eagle is outlined in white on the blue-black ground: the breast and the spread wings frontal, the nimbed head in profile. The head of the man at the center is lost, but a surviving section of the

rim of the nimbus indicates that this latter covered most of the upper wings. The lateral half-nimbus on the left is in part preserved, together with the top of the head of the calf. Below it, the right hand of the tetramorph must have appeared, holding the staff, of which the head decorated with pearls can be traced in the field. On the other side, the lion's head and its nimbus have entirely disappeared. The color of the whole figure is basically yellow with grey-



b. Frescoes of Dome, with suggested Restorations

black contours and details. In the field near the upper border are meagre traces of an inscription. In view of what follows above the second figure, we would expect here: "holy, holy, holy Lord sabaoth" (ἅγιος ἅγιος ἅγιος κύριος σαβαώθ).

The hexapterygon in the northwest pendentive is better preserved (fig. 11); its inscription could be read: "heaven and earth (are) full of Thy glory" (πλήρης ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ τῆς δόξης σου [sic]),³⁶ a paraphrase of the Septuagint version of

³⁶ Re-established with new paint in 1954.

Isaiah 6:3 taken from the liturgy. The upper wings and parts of the other two pairs have survived; but the center, where something of the face might be expected, is lost. The hands can be traced and in the right hand a staff, its head decorated with radiating groups of pearls. The whole figure is again basically yellow in the preserved areas, with contours and details faded to grey; as in the case of the tetramorph, the overpainting is largely eroded.

THE FRESCOES OF THE APSE

The semidome (fig. 12), where the Mother of God stands between St. Peter and St. Paul, has now a black ground, which may have sustained mutation or loss of original blue paint. The lower part, to a height of 0.50 to 0.60 m., is overpainted green. The front and the base of the conch (diameter 2.85 m.) are outlined by a band of red, about 0.08 m. wide, edged with a white line on the inner side. This band is cut by the cushioned footstool on which stands the Mother of God. Of the *orans* Blachernitissa type, with the medallion on her breast containing the bust of Christ Emmanuel, she has no accompanying title but only the abbreviations for "Mother of God" (Μ·Ρ ΘΥ). Rather more than life size, 1.97 m. to the top of the head, she wears a dark blue chiton under a purple maphorion. The close-fitting sleeves are enriched with three bands of braid, one at the wrist and a pair on the forearm, yellow darkened at the center with red. Above and below the double band two jewels are painted on each sleeve, yellow with red frames and claws and yellow outlines. The chiton is shown tight at the waist and flaring at the hem, beneath which the red shoes barely protrude. The hanging folds, rendered by black shadow lines, are interrupted by the right knee, indicating that it is slightly flexed and that the weight is carried on the left foot. The purple maphorion hangs in front to the waist, between the upraised arms, and behind to below the knee. It is edged with a double yellow and red braiding and a knotted fringe. Where it envelops the face, it has a single edging of braid (fig. 15). Above the forehead is a red jewel with yellow frame and claws; on the shoulders are two more, similar to those on the sleeves of the chiton. The face has lost all its surface paint except the patches of darker tone on the right cheek and on the forehead, but the underpaint has survived. With a few sure and flowing lines, the master who sketched the composition has captured the grace and serenity proper to his subject. Indeed, the features are drawn with such clarity that on first viewing the sketch might be mistaken for the finished work. In the nimbus, 0.65 m. in diameter, the yellow underpaint is now exposed, outlined in red and white; originally, however, it was doubtless gilded, in view of the traces of gold leaf in St. Paul's nimbus. It is unusually large in proportion to the face, but this has been disguised by enlarging more than customarily the outline of the head covered by the maphorion.

The painting of the right hand is lost except for the tips of the fingers painted on the black ground. This was roughly painted round the outline of the hand as first sketched, whereas in the case of the left hand the sketch, if there was any,

was entirely overpainted by the ground color, on which the hand was in turn overpainted, only to flake away.³⁷

The medallion, 0.34 m. in diameter, has black and white outlines and a dark red ground, on which the usual abbreviations for "Jesus Christ" (IC XC) are painted in white (fig. 16). The yellow nimbus (diameter 0.18 m.) has a red and white rim and on it the arms of the cross are outlined in red, as are those of the smaller crosses with which each of the arms is enriched. The interstices of the small crosses are white shaded with grey, and each once contained a crosslet painted in red, of which only traces survive. The deterioration of the bust of Christ was considerable from 1946 (fig. 16) to 1959 (fig. 12), when cleaning and treatment of the frescoes were completed, and for some details reference to the 1946 photograph is necessary. The hanging end of the red himation, which is worn over a blue chiton, emerges from the section wrapped round the waist to enfold the right arm, and reappears to drape over the left shoulder and forearm. The right hand is held to the breast with its back to the viewer, in the attitude of blessing; in the left is a white rotulus outlined in dark red. The surface paint has fallen from the face and hands, but in a few deft strokes the surviving sketch reveals the character of the former, the lifelike face of a child.

The front of the footstool, which is seen in steep perspective, is crowned by a band of yellow ochre, for gold, edged by rows of pearls on black (fig. 23, at the top). The cushioned top is covered with a patterned material, which repeats a design of large roundels enclosed by studded bands, found elsewhere in the church. With interior split-palmette motifs and radiating budded stems in the spandrels, it is here rendered in white, cream, and blue-grey with black outlines.

It will be helpful to discuss here briefly the choice of what is best called the Blachernitissa-Episkepsis type of Virgin. At Asinou, if the later repainting of the conch is a fair guide to the original Mother of God of 1105/6, the simple *orans* type was preferred, as in many eleventh-century apses,³⁸ while in 1192 Lagoudera, like Monreale a little earlier, reverted to the enthroned figure with the frontal Child.³⁹ Those who commissioned the decoration of Byzantine churches doubtless had a free choice of the type to be used for this focal image in the apse. But during the Middle Byzantine period it seems that in making their choice they generally conformed to recent practice, with the result that at a given period there was a considerable degree of conformity, though the preponderant type varied from time to time. There is some evidence that the construction of the new imperial palace in the neighborhood of the sanctuary of Blachernai led, under the Comneni, to a vogue for the types of the Virgin represented in the treasured icons which its complex of churches sheltered. Prominent among these, which were at least five in number, was the Episkepsis,

³⁷ This hand was almost intact in 1946; it was modelled to suggest soft lighting from above (Antiquities Dept. phot. D487).

³⁸ E.g. Salonika, Panagia ton Chalkeon; Kiev, St. Sophia; and Chios, Nea Moni. In the twelfth century this type was repeated at Cefalù and in the earliest of the Kastoria series, St. Nicholas Kasnitzi. An isolated later example in Cyprus is that in the bema of St. Neophytus' chapel of Holy Cross (1183 or later).

³⁹ Also Kastoria, Panagia Mavriotissa (ca. 1200). The somewhat earlier Anargyroi has another type of enthroned Virgin, as has the Kurbinovo church (1191).

kept in the rotunda of the Holy Soros annexed to the main church to enshrine the maphorion of the Theotokos. This representation evidently included the medallion with a bust of Christ on the breast of a full-length *orans*, if we may judge by seals bearing this type as well as the legend ἡ ἐπιτοκεψις; and according to the Book of Ceremonies it was the first icon to be venerated by the Emperor during the annual rite of the Sacred Bath.⁴⁰ The representation of the Blachernitissa-Episkepsis on seals⁴¹ and coins⁴² was soon followed in monumental art. In Cyprus the type is found not only in the Perachorio church but in the apses of three others with frescoes of twelfth-century style.⁴³ It is tempting to regard the reversion to the enthroned Virgin at Lagoudera (1192) as marking the end of this vogue for the Blachernitissa-Episkepsis type in the Island, though outside the Empire it was to continue into the thirteenth century.⁴⁴ In that case the iconography of the apse Virgin could be shown, like that of the Pantocrator, to represent an earlier stage of development than was reached in 1192 at Lagoudera.

To return now to the description of the fresco in the semidome, St. Peter, a little under life size (height to the top of the head: 1.36 m.), advances from the Virgin's right, his hands outstretched in supplication (figs. 12 and 13). The inscription is intact, painted in white above the head: ὁ ἄ(γιος) Πέτρος. Here, as elsewhere in the church, ὁ ἄγιος is abbreviated to an *alpha* within a circle. Over a full-sleeved chiton of light blue-grey with a purple stripe below the shoulder, he wears an orange-red himation, which passes under the right arm and drapes over his left shoulder and forearm to end in a flutter of folds before him. This end of the garment takes the characteristic hemispherical form in which tightly gathered folds are inflated from below. Almost everywhere the himation has lost its surface paint, while below the right arm and elsewhere it is denuded to the bare plaster. The hands, overpainted on the ground color, have flaked away, as has the head except for the forward outline of the face and a section of the curly hair, but the sketch thus exposed gives some idea of what has been lost.⁴⁵

⁴⁰ The texts were analyzed by Ebersolt in *Sanctuaires de Byzance* (Paris, 1921), p. 44 ff. He regarded the Episkepsis as distinct from the icon whose weekly miracle Anna Comnena recounted (Alex. XIII. 1). If they were distinct, the latter was probably a simple *orans*, like the "Blachernitissa" so-named on the coin of Constantine IX (Wroth, *British Museum Catalogue*, II, no. 18) and that un-named on a seal of a functionary of the monastery (G. Schlumberger, *Sigillographie de l'Empire byz.* [Paris, 1884], pp. 37, note 1 and 134 f., no. 1 = 148 f., no. 2). Others consider the miracle-working image and the Episkepsis to have been one and the same icon (E.g., C. Cecchelli, *Mater Christi*, I [Rome, 1946], p. 213 ff.).

⁴¹ With the full-length figure named "Episkepsis": Schlumberger, *op. cit.*, p. 396; Ebersolt, *op. cit.*, p. 50, fig. 8, with further references on p. 51, note 1. The popular half-length version was used among others by Alexius' general Eumathius Philocales, who was Duke of Cyprus in 1112 (Schlumberger, *op. cit.*, p. 189); by the Empress Irene (*ibid.*, p. 189); and, in 1143, by George of Antioch, founder of the Martorana in Palermo (*ibid.*, p. 343).

⁴² First by Alexius (Wroth, *op. cit.*, II, no. 32), later by Andronicus I (*ibid.*, nos. 3-4) and Isaac II (*ibid.*, nos. 38-42).

⁴³ The Panagia at Trikomo (Soteriou, *op. cit.*, pl. 99a); Hagia Mavra at Rizocarpaso (unpublished, probably mid-twelfth century) and Christ Antiphonitis near Kalogrea, which in other respects is close to Lagoudera.

⁴⁴ E.g. Nereditza, 1199 (Sychev and Miasoedov, *op. cit.*, pl. xxiii), and Studeniča, 1208-09 (G. Millet, *La peinture du moyen âge en Yougoslavie*, I [Paris, 1954], pl. 31, 3).

⁴⁵ In 1946 much of the face still survived: smoothly moulded without sharp lighting, but with well-defined features (Antiquities Dept. phot. D487).

The nimbus (diameter 0.31 m.) retains in part its yellow ochre underpaint, rimmed with red and white.

The companion figure of St. Paul is better preserved (figs. 12, 14, 18, and 20). Traces of gold leaf survive in indentations of the nimbus; hence it may be assumed that all the figures in the conch of the apse had gilded nimbi. The head, which had deteriorated considerably since 1946 (fig. 18), combined a bold deliniation of feature with a smooth flesh treatment. The hands, though defaced, are marked by an expressive elongation of the fingers. Of the feet, only traces survive on the green ground color.

The folds of the blue-grey chiton are well preserved on the full left sleeve and in the rhythmic undulations at the hem. Both here and on the himation the high lights are strongly accentuated, enhancing the dynamic quality with which the whole figure is imbued. The himation is basically red, but the use of pale blue-grey for middle tones and white for high lights gives it the unusual appearance of shot silk. At several points on the forward folds white pigment is applied in lines of dots on areas of middle tone, recalling the mosaic technique in which lines of alternating light and dark tesserae are used to render middle tones. The dots of white recur on the end of the garment fluttering forward from the right forearm. This end is now truncated due to a fall of plaster.

The whole of the upper of the two zones on the wall of the apse is occupied by a double Communion of the Apostles. The zone is only 1.25 m. high and the lower half is interrupted by the three narrow windows. The ground is dark green below, to about half the height, and blue-black above, except for some bright blue patches, which may represent the original coloring. On the north side is the Giving of the Bread, with only the first four letters of its inscription preserved: $\eta \mu \epsilon \tau[άδοσις]$ (fig. 21). Christ, who wears sandals drawn in black, stands within what appears to be a marble bishop's throne with sloping sides, each ending in front in a slender colonnette.⁴⁶ The sides are mottled red and white

⁴⁶ The bishop's throne, if such it be, is shown beside the altar, and it is repeated on the other side for the *Metalepsis* (fig. 23); but it should be imagined in the early position behind the altar, in the center of a semicircular synthronon. In other representations Christ clearly stands within a low chancel enclosure of the fifth-sixth-century type and the apostles outside it (e.g. Paris gr. 74, fol. 156^v: H. Omont, *Évangiles avec peintures byz. du XI^e siècle*, II [Paris, 1908], pl. 133); though in some cases there is now room for doubt whether the box-like object in which Christ stands does in fact represent a chancel enclosure and not a throne. In the Karabach Kilisse Communion, for example, the coping on the visible face slopes down to end in a round knob like those on the Perachorio thrones (G. de Jerphanion, *Églises rupestres de Cappadoce* [Paris, 1925], pl. 197, 2).

The probability is that in such cases, Perachorio included, the painter has misunderstood his model, interpreting the unfamiliar type of low enclosure in terms of a familiar object; for in many churches the original bishop's throne must have survived in position in the apse.

Alternatively, the painter may have reduced a representation of a Π-shaped enclosure, such as appears in the scene of the Veneration of St. Peter's Chains in the Menology of Basil II (*Il Menologio di Basilio II*, II [Turin, 1910], p. 324), to a form in which only its north and south sides are shown and the entrance occupies the whole of the west side. A final possibility is that the painter has represented not a throne, but the entrance to a *solea*, the passage which extended into the naos from some early sanctuaries. But in either of these cases some indication would be expected of the doors with which the sanctuary entrance was furnished from the earliest times, and which, as Professor Grabar has pointed out, are commonly included in Middle Byzantine representations of early sanctuaries ("Deux notes sur l'histoire de l'iconostase," *Srpska Akad. Nauka Vizantološki Institut, Zbornik Radova*, 7 (Belgrade,

with markings in darker red; on their copings and on the colonnettes, all of which are plain, the same colors are used. Christ stands erect, His head slightly inclined to the leading apostle, in whose eroded face the unmistakable features of Peter are still visible. Into his outstretched hands Christ gives the bread with His right hand from the *diskarion* held by the base in the other hand, which is covered by a napkin. Only the forward half of the head of Christ survives, and that denuded save for some traces of the sketch, which indicates a three-quarter view. On the yellow nimbus, rimmed with red and white, the left arm of the cross exists, its double outline drawn in red. Upon it a yellow cross, edged with red, has been inscribed; in each of its quarters is a brown crosslet on white. Christ wears a blue himation, shadowed in black and edged at the hems with a double line of white, and under it a purple chiton, seen at the ankle and on the left shoulder, below which a yellow band crosses the upper part of the sleeve. The napkin covering the left hand is of the same purple color, outlined and highlighted in white.

The six apostles, who are little more than half life size, are arranged in two groups of three. The faces are all represented in three-quarter view, but all are denuded to the sketch; as are large areas of the nimbi, which were yellow edged with red and white. Elsewhere the surface has survived without serious loss except in isolated areas. In each group two apostles are seen as full figures in the foreground, their heads inclined in the direction of their advance. Of the third in each case, little more than the head is seen and this is inclined in the opposite direction. Monotony is also avoided by variations of pose: St. Peter, his left foot leading, stoops slightly as he extends his hands; the next apostle, who appears from the sketch for the head to be St. Luke,⁴⁷ follows close, but out of step, his right foot forward; the third member of the leading group has already received the sacrament, to judge by the position of his left foot against the throne, and is moving off in the opposite direction. The first apostle of the second group, amid all this movement and countermovement, is by contrast quite stationary. This is probably St. James, for whom this prominent position would be appropriate. With his hands crossed on his breast, he probably waits his turn to receive the bread. St. Peter's pose with the right foot forward is repeated only by the last of the six—St. Mark, if we may judge by the dark hair and short beard—who thus does something to integrate the composition of the two groups. It is curious to observe how St. Mark appears, from the painting of his right hand over St. James' sleeve, to be about to pass in front of him. Yet his head and nimbus are partly masked by the nimbus of the third

1961), p. 15. For this reason and because there is no indication of a chancel barrier passing in front of the altar it is preferable to conclude that the painter represented thrones; but this conclusion cannot be pressed since in both cases a loss of plaster destroyed the area of the fresco behind Christ, where some indication of a back section linking the two sides of the supposed throne might have put its identity beyond doubt.

⁴⁷ In the ideal college of apostles adopted for representations of the Communion all four Evangelists are included: Thaddeus and one of the Jameses disappear to make way for Mark and Luke. Cf. G. de Jerphanion, "Quels sont les douze apôtres dans l'iconographie chrétienne?", *Recherches de science religieuse*, XI (1920), pp. 358–367; *idem*, *Églises rupestres de Cappadoce*, I, p. 93.

member of the group, who logically must be furthest from the viewer. A similar incongruity occurs in the first group: St. Luke's head is partly masked by that of the apostle who is about to pass behind him. Evidently the master felt it necessary to counter the relegation of the two apostles to the background by bringing their heads further forward in his composition than logic would allow, in order to give all six equal prominence, at least in this respect. The tightly integrated grouping which results is a characteristic of the master seen elsewhere in these frescoes, and if incongruities ensue from it they are hardly to be dismissed as the unconscious errors of his assistants. Nor can the deficiency in feet (only eight out of twelve are shown) be imputed to provincial carelessness, for similar deficiencies are found in reputable illuminations in manuscripts of the imperial scriptorium.⁴⁸ The hands and feet are for the most part well preserved; they are outlined in red, the sandals in black.

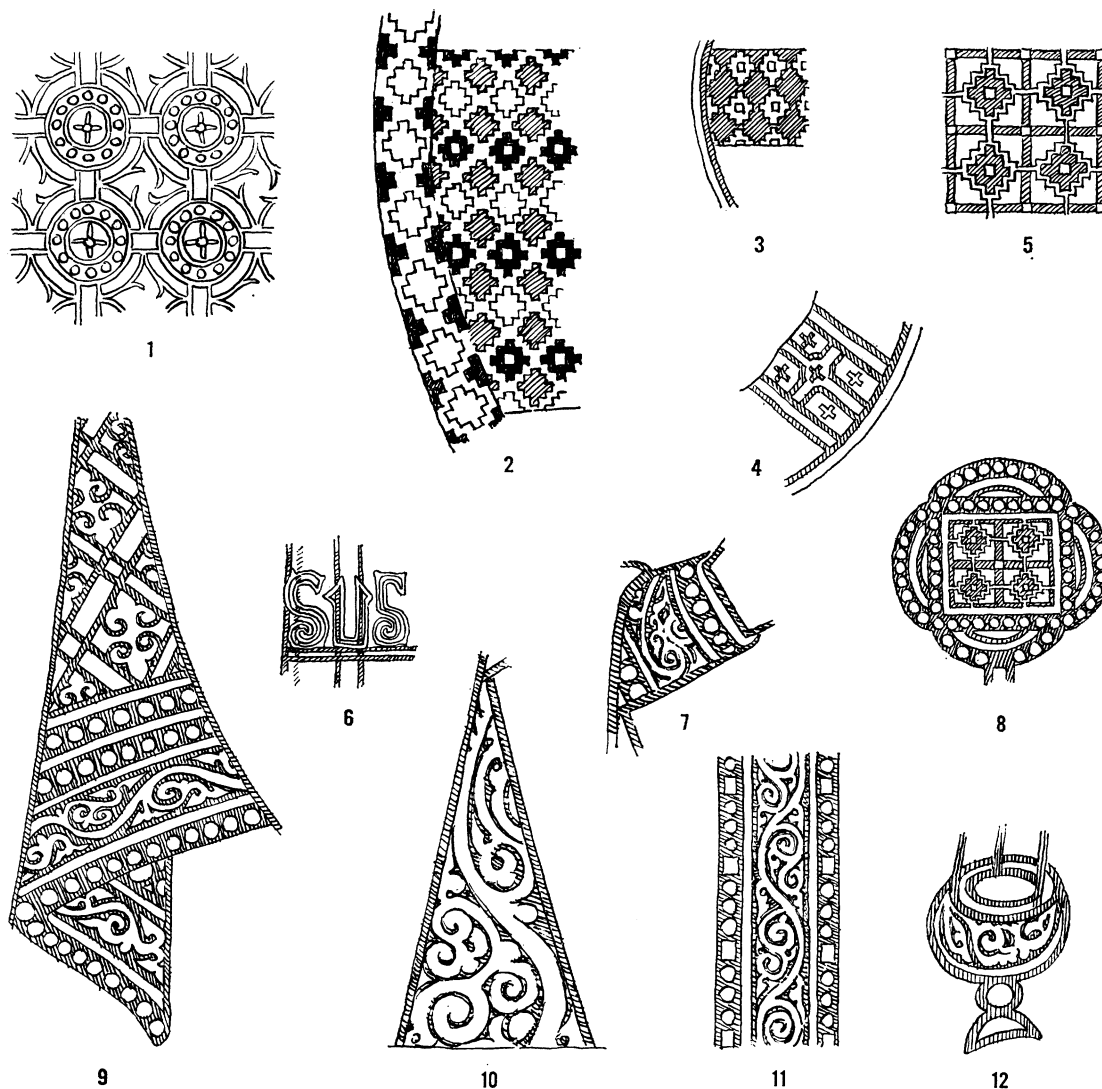
In the garments a wide range of color is employed and reduplication avoided, while strong highlighting is used to accentuate key elements in the composition. St. Peter has an orange-red himation over a grey chiton (red stripes high on the sleeve and red clavi); St. Luke, light red over blue-grey (red clavus) with white high lights on both garments; St. James, purple over orange-yellow (black sleeve stripe and clavus) again with white highlights on both; St. Mark, yellow brown with green-brown shadows over light red lit by a bluish white (black clavus). Of the two background figures, whose garments are largely masked, the one behind St. Peter has orange-yellow over blue-grey (red clavus); the other light red over an eroded green, a color which in this scene is surprisingly little used. To avoid monotony St. Luke and St. Mark have the right arm inside the himation with only the hand protruding, whereas St. Peter and St. James expose the full sleeve of the chiton.

The Giving of the Wine on the south side is in a similar state of preservation, except that there is an area of complete loss at the bottom right, and much of the inscription is intact: (ἡ με)τάληψης (sic) (fig. 22). The remaining six apostles here form with Christ a single, more complex group, entirely lacking in the repetitive elements that are usual in such Communion scenes. Christ, robed as in the *Metadosis*, stands again in a marble bishop's throne, which is here raised one step above the level on which the apostles come and go. The step is raw umber in color edged with blue-grey. The coloring of the side of the throne on Christ's right is mainly red as before, but the other side is green mottled with white and with red markings, while the colonnettes and copings are blue-grey and those to Christ's right are not plain like the others, but have dark red markings.

The three-quarter pose of Christ's head is well indicated by the sketch and the nimbus is ornamented as before, but with a crosslet at the center of the cross inscribed on the surviving arm of the nimbus cross (fig. c, 4). In the field, in white, is the second half of the abbreviated identification: [IC] XC. In this case a yellow clavus is seen on Christ's dark purple chiton, which has a wide

⁴⁸ E.g. the Topkapı Saray Octateuch (cod. 8), fol. 439, where a group of five youths are shown with only four legs between them.

edging at the neck and a sleeve stripe, both in yellow. In both hands, though only one is seen, Christ holds the chalice: with foot, globular bowl, vertical handles and quatrefoil rim.⁴⁹ It is tipped to show the interior, which retains its red color; the exterior is denuded to the plaster. Behind it the end of the dark blue himation hangs in vertical folds edged with black.



c. Details of Painted Ornament (1:4): 1. Communion, Altar Frontal; 2. Pantocrator, Nimbus Rim and Cross; 3. Baptism, Nimbus of Christ; 4. *Metalepsis*, Nimbus of Christ; 5. St. Lazarus, Book Cover; 6. Nativity, Mattress Cover; 7. St. Gregory the Theologian, Cuff; 8. Communion, *Rhipidion*; 9. St. Chrysostom, *Encheirion*; 10. St. Heracleidius, *Encheirion*; 11. Pantocrator, *Clavus*; 12. Dormition, Censer.

The leading apostle stoops low to drink from the chalice, which he steadies with his outstretched hands (fig. 24). Except for his lower lip and beardless chin poised over the chalice, his face, like the others, is eroded to the sketch.

⁴⁹ Compare the chalice in the Treasury of St. Mark's in Venice: A. Pasini, *Il Tesoro di San Marco* (Venice, 1885), no. 62, pl. xxxv.

From the prominence given to him, it seems beyond doubt that this young apostle with rather short dark hair is St. John, rather than either Thomas or Philip, who are usually portrayed beardless.⁵⁰ A change in design at the sketch stage enlarged his nimbus. At first it was rather smaller than those of his companions, but it was re-sketched larger than the other nimbi before final painting; this was carried out in yellow, rimmed with black and white, like the others. As he stoops forward, St. Andrew, behind him, makes a contrary movement. Holding his hand before him, open towards Christ, he appears to bend back on his left foot, which is not seen, and looks around over his shoulder, but his right leg has completely swung around against the foot of the throne, as though he were already striding away. This contorted pose, which does so much to knit the composition together, was in fact an afterthought. The first sketch, drawn here as elsewhere with a broad brush in pale color, shows St. Andrew's head turned towards Christ and the slightly stooped body closer to the apostle who follows St. John (fig. 25).⁵¹ It was only in the second sketch, drawn with more precision in a darker tone with a narrower brush, that he was given his dramatic turning posture.

The apostle who advances behind St. John, with his left foot forward, and at the same time forms an unusual dialogue group with St. Andrew, is a dominant figure near the center of the composition. This cannot be St. Paul, who, when present, balances St. Peter and receives the wine. St. John is here in the leading position simply because St. Paul could have no part in this redaction, more narrative than symbolic in character. The type of the central apostle, with short beard and a tuft of hair at the center of a balding brow, is that of St. Simon. His rather prominent position in this case may simply be a coincidental consequence of the master's rearrangement of the grouping to suit his favored type of composition.

St. Simon faces Christ with his left hand extended and his right hand evidently covered by the hanging end of his himation. The young apostle, who stands behind St. Andrew and St. Simon and closes the gap between them, provides the focus in depth for the whole composition. He is shown facing the viewer, but looking back to St. Simon. The fifth apostle, whom ample hair and beard identify as St. Matthew, moves up behind St. Simon, unless he is to be regarded as standing beside him, similarly posed but with head slightly bowed. The sixth, behind St. Matthew, is turning to move away. The bust is shown frontally with the right hand raised in front, but the head is turned away from Christ and, exceptionally, is seen in profile, now almost featureless, while the left leg is carried well across the body in a first determined stride away from his companions. He is set apart from them by another particular: in his case alone green underpaint has been used on the face and neck. The identity of this

⁵⁰ At Asinou, where Peter leads in the *Metadosis*, another young John, if such he be, receives the chalice (Harold [Buxton, Bishop of] Gibraltar and others, *op. cit.*, pl. xcviir, 4; Megaw, *op. cit.* fig. 1). It is more usual for Paul to lead in the *Metalepsis* and for John to be portrayed as an old man with a white beard (G. de Jerphanion, *loc. cit.*).

⁵¹ The right shoulder of the first sketch can be seen crossing the chest of the second, just below the beard; the left shoulder crossing the neck of the young apostle behind him.

apostle and the significance of his premature departure are still to seek. Since this scene is not only a symbol of the sacrament but also in some sense an image of the Last Supper, can it be that the early departure of Judas is here represented? The profile view may have been used here, as in representations of the Last Supper, to avert the traitor from the venerating gaze of the worshipper. In Communion scenes this figure is not unique, for the last apostle in the Asinou *Metalepsis* is high-stepping away to the right with his hand to his mouth.⁵²

In this section the palette is enriched by an increased use of green, and, as in the *Metadosis*, there is no duplication in the color combinations in the garments. St. John has a light red himation over a dark grey chiton with red clavi and sleeve stripes; St. Andrew, light earth-green over light purple; the beardless apostle behind him, warm grey with yellow-white lights over light red; St. Simon, light earth-green over light red with black clavi and sleeve stripes; St. Matthew, light red over brown; and the departing figure, green over blue-grey with a red sleeve stripe. In nearly all cases white is used for the maximum high lights and where the surface paint is intact, as on St. John's garments, the chiaroscuro is extremely vivid, the light falling fairly consistently from the altar, as in the *Metadosis*. It is noteworthy also that the drapery shows reasonable regard both to the nature of its materials and to the form of the figures it covers, and does not, as is so often the case, relapse into incongruous patterns. Yet the folds at the hems do tend to develop decorative undulations that are unreal in their regularity, as in the hem of St. John's chiton, and in the repeated, symmetrical forms of the himation folds hanging over his forearm, each ending in a heart-shaped figure.

The central section of the double Communion, between the two Christs, comprises a single altar-table, and two angels who serve as deacons before it, occupy the narrow sections of wall between the windows so that they can be shown full-length (fig. 23). Two large areas above the lateral windows have been lost, fortunately without damage to any crucial feature of the scene. Elsewhere the condition is good except for the erosion of limited areas, including, as usual, the faces. Only one column and two arches of the ciborium are represented, the former behind the altar, surmounted by the semicircular outline of its cupola; except for the capital, which is yellow, the whole is marked with marble veining and graded in color from white to purple. Only the top and the front of the altar are seen. The frontal is purple overpainted in yellow with a repeating pattern of roundels arranged tangentially on a grid basis, each containing a crosslet ringed with pearls, and linked to each other by vertical and horizontal straps (fig. c, 1). The scalloped hem is seen behind the angels' feet.

On the plain purple top of the altar are three vessels, painted in yellow and white. That in the middle is unmistakably the *diskarion*, a larger elevation view of that which Christ holds obliquely, by the foot, in the *Metadosis*. Here it is

⁵² See note 50 *supra*. In this case the departing figure, who appears to hold the sop to his mouth, is particularly suggestive of Judas in the Gospel (John 13:30): "He then having received the sop went immediately out." On the significance of the profile view, see Demus, *Byzantine Mosaic Decoration* (London, 1948), p. 8.

adorned with a band of cufesque ornament below the rim and a rosette of dots on the side. It is covered by the *asteriskos*.⁵³ Immediately behind it and extending to the back edge of the altar is a rectangle of dark purple. This may represent the veil or *diskokalymma* which is placed over the *asteriskos* to cover the paten after the Fraction, or possibly the *aer* with which both paten and chalice are covered after removal of their separate veils on arrival at the altar. The vessels on either side of the paten are small globular cups on knopped stems, the foot seen in elevation and the remainder obliquely from above. The interior of that to the right, which is slightly larger, is painted red; of the other, red and yellow. If these are chalices why are there two and why do they differ from the chalice of the *Metalepsis*? It might be argued that if the paten of the *Metadosis* could be shown again and larger on the altar, the chalice could likewise be shown again, but smaller, and, for this reason, in a simpler form; secondly, that the reduplication resulted from the demands of symmetry. But an even smaller vessel (impossibly small to represent a chalice) of analogous form, though with a rectangular foot, is shown on the partly preserved altartable of the Asinou Communion. In both cases some other explanation seems called for. Could it be that the larger of our two vessels does represent the chalice and the smaller the *zeon* from which warm water is poured into it at the altar by the deacon before the priest communicates? Or could it be that these are the cruets from which the chalice is initially filled with water and wine? This function, now performed by the priest in the prothesis, was originally performed by the deacon at the altar.⁵⁴ Alternatively, these problematic vessels may be censers shown without their suspension chains; the angel-deacons could reasonably have placed them on the altar while using their *rhipidia*. The censer which swings in front of the left end of the Virgin's bier in the Dormition is essentially of the same form (fig. c, 12).

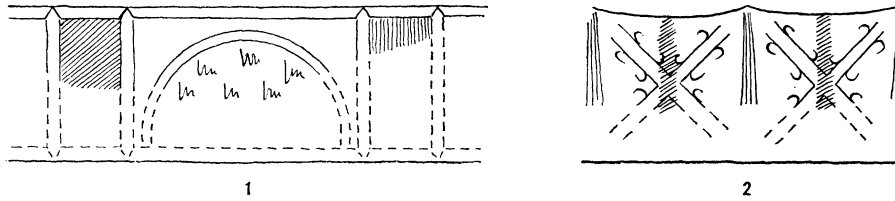
With their ornate *rhipidia* the angels fan the altar, but they look away to watch the apostles communicate. The angel on the north has over his left forearm a purple napkin, perhaps another veil, lighted with blue and ornamented with a central rosette of dots. The shafts of the *rhipidia* are yellow edged with black and the heads are painted in black, red, and yellow and enriched with pearls. The *rhipidion* on the south is rectangular within a quatrefoil outline and bears a cross, the quarters of which are filled with stepped crosses, or "crenelated lozenges," evidently representing cloisonné enamel (fig. c, 8). What is left of the other is similar, but much has been lost through erosion of the wing over which it was painted. The wings themselves, spread and hanging vertically, are painted in black, red, yellow, and white. The angel's nimbi are yellow, that on the north rimmed in black and white, the other in red and white. Their white *sticharia* are shaded with yellow, and that on the north has its main folds

⁵³ This serves to prevent the derangement of the portions of bread on the paten when it is covered by the veil. It is shown in position on the paten in an isolated fragment of the Asinou Communion; on the altar, beside the paten, in the Communion mosaic in St. Sophia at Kiev (Stefanescu, *op. cit.*, pl. LXXIV). The cufesque decoration on the Perachorio paten is discussed *infra* with the other painted ornament.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 44.

drawn in red. They have bands of brocade at the neck and others, edged with pearls, at the hem; also in the case of the northern angel on the cuff. They wear purple-red shoes decorated with pearls. The narrow *oraria* hanging from the left shoulder are yellow with sparse decoration in red.

The lower zone of the apse wall, which occupies the whole remaining height except for the low dado at the base (fig. d, 1), is as usual assigned to Fathers of the Church, wearing episcopal vestments. Since the triple window cuts into



d. Painted Dadoes (1:10). 1. In the Apse; 2. On the Iconostasis Jamb.

this zone, taking the upper half of its height, the remaining space has been divided into three panels by the usual red borders: two large ones 1.55 m. high on either side of the window, each containing three full-length figures (figs. 26 and 27), and a third beneath the window filled by two busts within medallions (fig. 19). The lateral panels have a blue-grey ground up to a height of about 0.50 m. and above that a blue ground. The panel under the window has light blue above, dark green below.

St. John Chrysostom has the place of honor on the north, next the window, St. Basil that on the south; second on the north St. Gregory the Theologian, on the south St. Nicholas; on the flanks, St. Lazarus on the north, St. Athanasius on the south. All are identified by their names, written vertically (*kionidon*) in white in an unusually decorative hand. The circular is preferred to the normal oval form for *epsilon*, *theta*, *omicron*, and *sigma*; there is a tendency to exaggerate serifs and to turn the loops of *beta* and *rho* into volutes (fig. 49). The terminal *sigmas* and the tail of the *zeta* in *Ἀλάριος* have foliate enrichments, and *Χρυσόστομος* is written in a decorative monogram. None of the other surviving inscriptions repeat this rather florid style, nor is it found in the Asinou church. The circular forms have been regarded as characteristic of the eleventh century;⁵⁵ but in Cyprus they are found, mixed with the normal narrow forms, in the late twelfth century.⁵⁶

The six full-length bishops are seen in strict frontality, as at Asinou and in the Sicilian mosaics. They witness the liturgy performed at the altar they

⁵⁵ To the examples collected by Dandrakis when discussing this feature of the inscriptions in St. Eutychius near Chrononastiri in Crete (N. Dandrakis, "Αἱ τοιχογραφίαι τοῦ ἁγίου Εὐτυχίου 'Ρεθύμνης,'" *Κρητικά Χρονικά*, 10 [1956], p. 235 and pls. 13,2, 18,2) add those of the first decorations of St. Stephen and the Anargyroi in Kastoria (S. Pelekanides, *Καστορία*, I [Thessaloniki, 1953], pls. 41, b and 100).

⁵⁶ Bema of the cave-church adjoining the cell of St. Neophytus: e.g. in the name of St. Theodore Hagiasmenos, the *theta* and the first *omicron* (Soteriou, *op. cit.*, pl. 72b) and compare the *beta* of Gabriel's name in the Annunciation (*ibid.*, pl. 67a); Lagoudera: e.g. the *omicron* in the names of several saints (Stylianou, *op. cit.*, pl. 157, 1 and 2) and, in the names of the bishops in the apse, the circular *theta* and a mixture of the circular and oval forms of *epsilon*, *omicron*, and *sigma* (that of St. Meletius illustrated in Megaw, *op. cit.*, fig. 4).

confront; there is no hint of the later conception in which they were portrayed in three-quarter view as officiating themselves, inclined to the center of the apse and holding rotuli commonly inscribed with excerpts from liturgical prayers.⁵⁷ Here all carry books in their covered left hands and, with the exception of the two leading Fathers, bless with their right. St. John Chrysostom holds a cross in his right hand, as at Asinou and elsewhere,⁵⁸ since he suffered a fate considered equal to martyrdom; St. Basil holds his book with both hands.

The vestments of all six are similar: *sticharion*, with the characteristic turn-up at the hem seen in both of the figures that are preserved to their full length, St. John Chrysostom and St. Gregory the Theologian (fig. 49); *epitrachelion*, hanging down in front with a central seam where the two embroidered ends are stitched together, seen also at the neck in the case of St. Nicholas and St. Lazarus; *epimanikia*, with varying arabesque ornament closely vermiculated and edged with pearls (fig. c, 7); *encheirion*, which in the case of all except St. John Chrysostom ends below in a point, giving it the appearance of a stiff material with heavy embroidery, the latter confined in two cases (St. Gregory the Theologian and St. Lazarus) to a rectangle in the visible corner, suggestive of the later *epigonation*; by contrast, St. John Chrysostom has an unmistakable kerchief hanging in folds (fig. c, 9); *phaelonion*, draping in plastically treated folds and in all cases covering the left hand, in which the book is held; and *omophorion*, knotted rather tightly round the neck, especially those of St. Basil and St. Gregory the Theologian, the visible end carried over the left forearm, short in the case of St. Gregory and St. Nicholas, elsewhere longer and swinging obliquely to relieve the immobility of the figures with a suggestion of movement.

It is noteworthy that St. John Chrysostom is not singled out here by the distinction of wearing the *polystavrion*, as at Asinou and Cefalù.⁵⁹ Instead, the colors of the main vestments are varied to give prominence to the two liturgists, both of whom wear purple *phaelonion*,⁶⁰ whereas the others wear yellow or

⁵⁷ Nerezi offers one of the earliest dated examples (G. Millet, *La peinture du moyen âge en Yougoslavie* I [1954], pl. 15; V. N. Lazarev, "Živopis' X–XII vekov v Makedonii," *XII^e. Congr. Int. des Etudes Byzantines, Ochride, 1961, Rapports*, fig. 15). The Veljusa fresco with only Saints Basil and Chrysostom officiating and the other two bishops *en face* is clearly an even earlier example, possibly as early as the foundation of the church in 1080 (V. J. Durić, "Fresques du monastère de Veljusa," *Akten XI. Int. Byz. Kongr., 1958* [Munich, 1960], p. 114f.). In Cyprus, the celebrant bishops were current before the end of the twelfth century, e.g. in the bema of the cave-church of St. Neophytus, where they converge on the Mother of God, carrying excerpts from the prayer of Prothesis (A. C. Indianos and G. H. Thomson, "Wall-Paintings at St. Neophytos Monastery," *Κυπριακαὶ Σπουδαί*, 3 [1940], p. 28f.); also at Lagoudera (Stylianou, *op. cit.*, pl. 143, 1; a detail of St. Meletius is illustrated in Megaw, *op. cit.*, fig. 4).

⁵⁸ E.g. St. Eutychius near Chromonastiri in Crete (Dandrakis, *op. cit.*, p. 219 and note 16). The Asinou St. Chrysostom is illustrated in Megaw, *op. cit.*, fig. 5.

⁵⁹ Asinou: Harold (Buxton, Bishop of) Gibraltar and others, *op. cit.*, pl. xcvi, 4; Cefalù: Demus, *The Mosaics of Norman Sicily*, pl. 7A. In the Cappella Palatina and at Monreale, as at Perachorio, St. John Chrysostom wears the dark *phaelonion* (*ibid.*, pl. 23B and p. 324), but by the end of the twelfth century the *polystavrion* became the usual vestment, not for Chrysostom alone, but for other Fathers also, as at Nerezi (see note 57 *supra*), later at Kurbinovo (R. Ljubinković, *Starinar*, XV [1940], p. 104, fig. 3) and, in Cyprus, at Lagoudera (unpublished), but there not exclusively.

⁶⁰ Chrysostom: purple shot with bright blue highlights, on a warm light brown *sticharion* with dark brown outlines and shadow lines; Basil: purple with black outlines and shadow lines, on yellow brown with black outlines and light brown shadows.

pink.⁶¹ For the rest, despite the general uniformity of the vestments, repetitious detail is avoided. Thus the *epitrachelia*, basically yellow, are varied in some cases by alternating panels of white; their black or dark brown crosses and other ornamentation are never, in any two instances, quite the same. The *epimanikia*, ornamented in red on yellow with pearl edgings, are similarly diversified. The *encheiria* likewise are all yellow enriched with pearls and dark brown pattern, but the borders of some are narrow, of others wide, some are elaborated with rinceaux (Chrysostom, Nicholas, and Lazarus) and some are not; the panel within the border has sometimes a repeating diaper, sometimes an all-over arabesque (Lazarus). The *omophoria*⁶² have black crosses of varying forms; simple (Chrysostom and Lazarus); simple with slight serifs (Nicholas); quatrefoil (Basil); large Maltese (Athanasius); smaller Maltese with budded arms (Gregory). A final touch of variety is provided by the books; these are held at different angles, have covers which differ in detail⁶³ and edges of different color.⁶⁴

With the exception of St. Basil's, all the heads have been eroded to the sketch; some lengths of outline alone remain to show that the final painting did not always coincide with the sketch. St. Basil has smooth hair, full, pointed beard, warm brown in color and shaded with fine black lines, and features boldly drawn in flowing line on the smoothly graded flesh color. St. John Chrysostom is seen on the sketch to have the prominent cheekbones, narrow chin and short beard of his usual type; St. Gregory the Theologian, blue-grey hair and beard, the latter full and spade-shaped as seen in Sicily;⁶⁵ St. Athanasius, an even wider beard, but short, white, and curly. The normal type of St. Nicholas with rounded, grey beard is recognizable, while St. Lazarus' head is appropriately cadaverous. The exposed right hands are all eroded except for the outlines.

Of the two Salaminian Fathers in medallions under the triple window, St. Barnabas, whose name by exception is written horizontally, has lost almost all the northern half of the bust, while St. Epiphanius is in average condition (fig. 19). They have, respectively, light red and dark green grounds; the small area at the center where the two medallions intersect is blue, like the upper part of the panel on which they are set. The nimbi are yellow outlined in dark brown and white, the medallions themselves have black and white outlines. Each of these Fathers wears a light red *phaelonion* with red shadow lines and

⁶¹ Lazarus and Gregory: yellow with red shadow lines and white high lights, on a white *sticharion* with warm grey shading and black outlines; Nicholas and Athanasius: pink shaded in light red with white high lights (blue shot shadow lines on the upper part of Nicholas' right arm), on grey with black shadow lines and white high lights (green underpainting in the case of Athanasius).

⁶² White with pale grey shading, except those of Basil (uniform light grey with white outlines), Nicholas (pale yellow with white outlines) and Athanasius (grey with pale grey outlines).

⁶³ Divided vertically into two rows of panels by broad bands with double rows of pearls (Basil and Athanasius); divided into three rows of panels each containing a stone held in claws (Chrysostom and Nicholas); the same but each panel containing a stepped cross or "crenellated lozenge" (Gregory and Lazarus: fig. c, 5). The basic color in all cases is red broken with white, the outlines dark brown and the ornament overpainted in dark brown, white, and blue-grey.

⁶⁴ Grey over red giving violet (all three on the north); light red (Basil); bright blue (Nicholas); and purple (Athanasius).

⁶⁵ Demus, *op. cit.*, pl. 24B and p. 324.

white high lights; and each a yellow *omophorion* edged with white and bearing black crosses; simple in the case of St. Epiphanius; like those of St. Gregory the Theologian in the case of St. Barnabas. Both have books, yellow outlined and ornamented in dark brown, with blue-purple edges. St. Barnabas' dark brown hair is preserved in final paint and the sketch shows a short beard. St. Epiphanius has grey hair and beard outlined in brown and overpainted with fine white lines.

THE FRESCOES OF THE BEMA

The Ascension, extending over the whole of the bema vault, is described below with the other scenes of the festival cycle. The lower part of the walls is occupied by further full-length figures continuing the series of Fathers in the apse. The space available is small, comprising only the arch recesses on either side, 0.85 m. wide by 2.55 m. high, plus the narrow strips of the east wall between the recesses and the apse and the equally narrow east faces of the iconostasis jambs. The three surfaces available on either side are reduced by the small ambries formed in the lateral walls and by the conch-headed niches in the east wall on either side of the apse. The temptation to subdivide the spaces that remain in order to multiply the number of saints portrayed was resisted and, by limiting the number to three on either side and a bust in each of the lunettes, it was possible to retain the scale of the apse figures. The ground color is blue or blue-grey throughout, except for the busts in the lunettes, which are set in medallions having red (north) and green grounds. These medallions, which are outlined in black and white, are only 0.39 m. in diameter; but these meager dimensions are largely disguised by the uncrowded distribution of the figures.

The most prominent positions, those above the ambries in the back walls of the recesses, have been assigned to three-quarter length figures of St. Heraclidius on the south (fig. 44)⁶⁶ and a saint whose damaged name ends in ... *ώνιος* on the north (fig. 43). The latter may well be St. Macedonius, the fourth-century Bishop of Ledra-Nicosia, the see to which Perachorio probably belonged and which, as the Byzantine capital, could hardly have been left without a representative.⁶⁷ The positions on the east wall above the conch-headed niches, extending from the back walls of the lateral recesses to the apse, were filled with half-length figures. Leo, Pope of Rome, on the south, is identifiable by his inscription: *ὁ ἄ(γιος) Λέων [Π]άππας Ῥώμης* (fig. 45); the equivalent figure on the north and its inscription have been entirely destroyed. Opposite these and occupying the west sides of the recesses and extending on the east faces of the iconostasis jambs were two full-length figures: St. Cyril on the south (fig. 47), much damaged but preserving most of the inscription—

⁶⁶ Despite damage and indifferent orthography, the inscription seems beyond doubt: *ὁ ἄ(γιος) Ἡρακλίδης*. The first bishop of nearby Tamassus, whose consecration Cypriot tradition assigned to St. Barnabas himself, could reasonably be given this prominence.

⁶⁷ *Trésor de chronologie*, ed. L. de Mas Latrie (Paris, 1889), col. 911 f. He is probably the Macedonius named without his see among the Cypriot bishops who subscribed the decrees of the Council of Sardica (Mansi, *Conciliorum Collectio* [Florence-Venice, 1759 et seq.], III, col. 69, quoted with other references by J. Hackett, *A History of the Church of Cyprus* [London, 1901, p. 7].

ὁ ἅγιος [Κύ]ριλλος; and on the north a bishop who has suffered through the cutting-back of the iconostasis jamb (now rebuilt) and has lost his name (fig. 46). He and the lost half-length figure which he faced may well have been representatives of Constantinople and another of the eastern churches, to match those of Rome and Alexandria in the equivalent positions on the south side. The medallions in the lunettes were filled with busts of two more bishops; St. Spyridon of Tremithus on the north (fig. 43), his name preserved—ὁ ἅγιος Σπυρίδων[ν]; on the south a John, the second half of whose name is lost—ὁ ἅγιος Ἰω(άννης) [.....] (fig. 44), but who, on the reasonable assumption that he also is a Cypriot saint, like the others on the back walls of the recesses, is probably St. John Lampadistis.⁶⁸

These bishops in the bema are vested like those in the apse. St. Cyril has a dark violet *phaelonion* over a purple-brown *sticharion* and the corresponding unidentified figure on the west side of the north recess has purple over white; all the rest, however, wear light red *phaelonia*. St. Leo, Pope of Rome, holds his book before him in both hands, both of which are covered. Each of the other bishops also holds a book, but in his covered left hand, as do the Fathers in the apse, and each blesses with his right. The visible ends of the *omophoria* hang obliquely as we have seen before, except for that of St. Heracleidius, which hangs vertically from the left forearm, and those of St. Macedonius and St. Leo, Pope of Rome, which hang vertically from the knot at the neck. The crosses are all simple except in two cases: St. Macedonius, where they have slight serifs; St. Cyril, where they correspond with those of St. Gregory in the apse. Only in the case of St. Heracleidius is something of the *encheirion* visible, ornamented with an all-over arabesque (fig. c, 10). In the ornamentation of the book covers the patterns of those in the apse are repeated.

Of the characterization of the individual bishops, there is little to be said owing to the entire loss of several of the heads and the poor condition of the others. St. Heracleidius has smooth hair and a long but rounded beard; St. Leo curly hair and traces of a short white beard; St. Spyridon wears a tight-fitting cap, yellow, edged with pearls and with indications of plaiting in purple. Despite their poor condition, there is more than one indication that these eight bishops in the bema were painted by the same hand or hands that worked on those in the apse.

The small niches, the vestigial prothesis and diaconicon, each contain a cross with two cross-arms between the symbols of the Passion, spear and sponge, and the monograms IC XC, N K distributed as usual, all in black (fig. 45). The ground is yellow below and white above. In the prothesis niche the lower intersection of the cross is ringed by a crown of thorns.

On the lateral walls of the bema, between the tops of the arched recesses and the springing of the vault, which coincides with the lower border of the Ascension panel, there is a zone of maximum height 0.50 m., into which the recesses slightly intrude. Here, on a black ground, are two medallions on either side, each containing the bust of a patriarchal figure (figs. 40 and 41). Those on the

⁶⁸ See Hackett, *op. cit.*, pp. 394 and 431.

south are the best preserved and of these the eastern one leaves no doubt of their character, since the name, Abraham, is legible: ὁ δίκαιος Ἀβρα(ά)μ (fig. 40). The names of the others are lost. The medallions range from 0.33 to 0.45 m. in diameter and have red (the two eastern ones) and green grounds. The Patriarchs have yellow nimbi, hold rotuli in their left hands, which are not seen, and bless with their right. Their robes are green (shaded with brown and lighted with white) over pink or purple (shaded with red) where the ground is red, and these colors are reversed where the ground is green. Three of the heads are eroded but it is evident that all had long hair; that of the fourth, the westernmost of the northern pair, is entirely lost. Abraham's hair is green-gey with fine white lining, like that of his neighbor, whose shaggy pointed beard is outlined with red. The patriarch opposite Abraham has a rounded beard and rather Christ-like features indicated in the sketch (fig. 41). These characteristics do not suffice for identification, but if Abraham is here, close to the altar, to evoke the sacrifice of Isaac, all four may stand for prefigurations of the Eucharist, as do, for example, the medallions with busts of Abraham and Melchizedek at Cefalù.⁶⁹ But, since none of the surviving three heads has the priestly headdress usually worn by Melchizedek, they should perhaps be regarded rather as four patriarchal ancestors of Christ, displaced from the dome program; particularly as the prophets who have suffered a similar displacement occupy the corresponding positions in the west bay. In this position they would conform with the ranks of prophets and kings for which there is evidence on the bema walls of St. Sophia at Kiev.⁷⁰

Apart from areas of pure ornament which are described collectively *infra*, the decoration of the bema was completed by two figures of stylites on their columns, facing each other on the jambs of the iconostasis. Of these St. Simeon survives on the south, identified by the last two letters of his name (fig. 44), but St. Daniel, his usual companion, was entirely destroyed when the north jamb was cut back. St. Simeon's panel is green below, light blue above; his column red and light brown, with marble figuring in black. The ornate acanthus capital has a necking and abacus of the same pattern as the frame of the Pantocrator medallion in the dome, and the foliage, pseudo-volutes, and boss are overpainted with the same terminal dots of white, here on light brown with a purple background and shade lines. The bust of St. Simeon appears behind a white railing; he wears a purple-brown habit and a dark violet hood, shadowed and outlined in black. The yellow nimbus, of which the upper half is lost, is rimmed with black and white. The face is eroded but a few white strands of the pointed beard survive. The book held in the left hand has blue edges and a light brown cover, the latter detailed in purple with pearls on the arms of the cross, which has blue stones in the quarters. Below the base of the column, which is foliated in the same manner as the capital, there is a draped dado some 0.20 m. high (fig. d, 2).

⁶⁹ Abraham: Demus, *op. cit.*, pl. 6B; Melchizedek: Lazarev, *op. cit.*, fig. 19.

⁷⁰ In conjunction with a modified Ascension dome (V. N. Lasareff, *Nouvelles découvertes à la cathédrale Sainte-Sophie de Kiev* [Moscow, Academy of Sciences, 1955], p. 26f.).

THE FESTIVAL CYCLE

The *Annunciation*, in the two eastern pendentives, showed Gabriel and the Mother of God as full-length figures, but the lower parts of both have been lost. The backgrounds in both cases were blue over black. Gabriel, in the northeast pendentive (fig. 28), is seen in three-quarter view, wings spread: the right wing is held well back to fill the space behind, the left hangs only slightly in front of the forward shoulder. Although this left wing is not in the alighting position behind the nimbus, the pose of the head well forward on the neck is suggestive of movement, and the surviving folds on the right thigh would be suitable to a forward position for the right leg, indicating a brisk pace.⁷¹ Gabriel's right hand extends towards the Mother of God with the fingers in the gesture of allocution; the left hand, held well down, clasps a staff with an ornamented head and trefoil finial. There is no architectural background and there are no traces of subsidiary elements in the field, which is partially filled by the inscription: the name behind Gabriel's head and his message in two lines in the triangular space in front, preceded by a rosette of dots: "Hail, thou that art highly favored, the Lord is with thee" —ὁ ἀρχ(άγγελος) Γαβριήλ || χαίρε καίχαριτωμένη ὁ κ(ύριος) | μετὰ σοῦ (sic).⁷² Gabriel wears a blue-grey sticharion with a white sleeve stripe, partly covered by a chlamys of light red color wound tightly round the waist; both sticharion and chlamys are outlined in black and have white highlights. His curly hair is tied with a fillet, one end of which trails on the yellow nimbus. The surviving features of the face indicate a type close to that of the angels in the dome. The eroded upper surfaces of the wings are blue-grey, the lower feathers purple, black, and white.

The Mother of God, by contrast, is closely surrounded by subsidiary features belonging to both episodes of the Annunciation as related in the protevangeli-um of James (fig. 29). Before her is the fountain, where the angel first appeared, as she was filling her pitcher, and spoke the words recorded in abbreviated form in Gabriel's pendentive. Behind her are traces of the gable end of her house, with arched door, red tiled roof, and a purple awning draped over it. This is the setting in which she is commonly portrayed spinning, to illustrate the second episode which closed with her reply to the angel, here recorded in seven lines in the narrow space before her: "Behold the handmaid of the Lord...: be it unto me according to thy word." —ἰδοὺ | ἡ δού|λη κ(ύριου) | γένοι|τό μοι | κατὰ το | ρήμα σοῦ.⁷³ A further section of the house can be traced in the angle of the pendentive: a marble-lined wall with dark red mottling. Finally, from a segmental cloud above the fountain, the nimbed dove of the Holy Spirit descends towards the Mother of God on three rays, all drawn in white, a feature shared by all three versions of the scene in the twelfth-century Sicilian mosaics.⁷⁴

⁷¹ As in Chapel 16 at Gueurémé (G. de Jerphanion, *op. cit.*, pl. 135, 2; G. Millet, *Recherches sur l'iconographie de l'Évangile* [Paris, 1916], fig. 8).

⁷² Re-established in 1954.

⁷³ Protevangeli-um, XI, 1-2. The inscription was strengthened in 1954. The translations are from *The Apocryphal New Testament*, trans. by M. R. James (Oxford, 1953), p. 43.

⁷⁴ Demus, *op. cit.*, pls. 11A, 49 and 65A. Also occurring, or suggested, in the Vatopedi Exonarthex (Millet, *Monuments de l'Athos*, pl. 4, 3) and at Kastoria (Pelekanides, *op. cit.*, pl. 68b), but nowhere in the Cappadocian frescoes, the descent of the Holy Spirit may be a Constantinopolitan feature.

Only the bust of the Mother of God has survived, but there can be no doubt that she was represented standing; her nimbus is higher than that of Gabriel and touches the top border of the panel. Her purple *maphorion*, edged with white and shadowed in black, falls almost vertically from either side of the head, forming a deep opening where the dark blue chiton is seen. Her head is inclined, but the features have survived only as first sketched. The yellow nimbus has dark brown and white outlines. Neither of her hands is preserved, but the fleur-de-lys overpainted on the *maphorion* above the left breast is probably the head of the distaff which she commonly holds in her left hand. Her right arm is bent at the elbow and, since the hand does not seem to have been raised showing the palm in the gesture of disbelief, it most probably held the wool. Mary was in that case represented after returning to her house, spinning as she pondered Gabriel's message, the type most favored in the twelfth century⁷⁵.

The fountain issues from a red wall through a lion's mask of antique form. The basin of blue-grey water below is straight against the wall, the rim here decorated with a zigzag band in red and white, but its outer edge is angular in form and mottled with light green marbling below a red rim. Beyond the lion's head, towards the angle of the pendentive, a branching plant with dark brown stems fans out to white lilies near the top of the wall.⁷⁶ All these subsidiary elements, which give a picturesque, Hellenistic flavor to the composition, not only contrast with the featureless ground of Gabriel's pendentive, but generally with the tendency of the master who conceived this decoration to concentrate on the figures themselves, rather than to rely on background architecture and ancillary features to give interest to his compositions. It may well be that the scenes of the festival cycle reflect an iconographic guide closer to the tradition of manuscript illumination than whatever models were followed in other parts of the decoration, such as the dome and the apse.

The *Nativity* (figs. 30 and e) occupies the whole of the lunette below the south dome arch, 3.40 m. wide and 1.72 m. high.⁷⁷ It has lost a section at the top, where the segment of heaven, the star, the ray descending towards the manger, and the titulus are usually featured; and a larger area at the extreme left where the Magi might be expected. But the larger part has survived, and, although defaced in some sections, it is clear that it conformed with what has been called the dominant type of twelfth-century iconography at Byzantium.⁷⁸ The hill containing the cave lies concentrically within the lunette, so that the Annunciation to the Shepherds forms a continuous frame round the central scene of the Nativity itself. Seemingly within the cave an almost semicircular area

⁷⁵ Millet, *Recherches*, *op. cit.*, p. 70ff.

⁷⁶ This lily plant, perhaps the earliest recorded in eastern monuments, calls in question the western origin postulated for this feature of Palaeologan and later Annunciations (cf. Millet, *op. cit.*, p. 91).

⁷⁷ The blocking of the windows in this lunette and in that opposite, which was filled by the Anastasis (see *infra*), does not mean that any considerable time elapsed between construction and decoration; merely that there was no close co-operation between those who built, and those who painted the church. The same phenomenon at Nerezi does not divorce its frescoes from the foundation inscription: see E. Kitzinger, *The Mosaics of Monreale* (Palermo, 1960), p. 104 and note 142.

⁷⁸ Demus, *op. cit.*, p. 266, with representative manuscript examples listed in note 81 (p. 335).

is reserved for the Bathing of the Child, represented as taking place in a separate cave within a subsidiary hillock (fig. 33): an over-large child Christ (ΙC XC) in an ornate basin between the midwife (ἡ μέα), seated and washing, and Salome (ἡ Σαλόμη) standing to pour water from a pitcher. The remaining space within the main cave is comfortably filled by the Mother of God who sits obliquely on her mattress with her legs seen in profile to the left and her head turned over her left shoulder towards the focal point of the whole composition: the manger, where the infant Christ lies with his head beside her, as the ox and ass feed. Despite the damage which both figures have sustained it seems clear that Mary clasped the child with both her hands at His shoulders. Joseph, of whom little has survived, was shown seated on the left, at the entrance to the main cave, facing inwards; only the last letter of his name now exists: [Ῥωση]φ. The angels appear as half-length figures partly hidden by the hill, three on the left and their leader to the right of the summit, which is lost. On a shoulder of the hill to the right sits the shepherd musician, playing his flute and unconscious as yet of the approach of the leading angel and of his words, inscribed in four lines between them: "Cease piping in the fields: for today is born the salvation of the world"—πα[ύσ]α[τε] | ἀγρουλο[ῦ]ντες | ὅτι σήμερον ἐγεννή[θη] | [ἡ] σ(ωτη)ρία το[ῦ] κ[ό]σμου[ου].⁷⁹ The young and the old shepherd stand below anxiously discussing the apparition, their flock behind them (fig. 32).

A tentative reconstruction of the lost area on the left side is shown in figure e. This indicates that there is ample room in this area to accommodate the Magi in the position in which they commonly appear; indeed, since Joseph is drawn on the same minuscule scale as the rest of the subsidiary figures, it is hard to see how the space above him could be filled otherwise, except by increasing the number of angels on this side to more than the normal three. A blank space at this point is improbable: in the Nativity of the Parma tetraevangelium, which is comparable in many respects, a blank space has been avoided only by the somewhat drastic expedient of transferring the musician to it.⁸⁰ Furthermore, the balance of the composition seems to require three points of interest on the left half of the frame section (angels, Magi, Joseph) to match the three on the right (leading angel, musician, other shepherds). Finally, the inclusion of the Magi would have entailed an upward inflection of the outline of the hill in order to isolate them from the angels, which seems necessary to balance the shoulder where the flautist sits. If this restoration is correct, we have all the elements of the Constantinopolitan type, which are already seen in the eleventh century at Hosios Lukas, but here set out in the more formalized manner of the twelfth.⁸¹

A characteristic aspect of this formalization, well illustrated in this composition, is the isolation of its component sections: not only is the skyline used to separate the angels from the terrestrial spectacle, but the landscape itself has

⁷⁹ This is a paraphrase of the automelon sung at the beginning of the orthros on Christmas Eve (Μηναῖον τοῦ Δεκεμβρίου [Athens, Saliverou, n.d.], p. 272. For kindred versions, see Millet, *op. cit.*, p. 130ff.).

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, fig. 63.

⁸¹ Hosios Lukas: E. Diez and O. Demus, *Byzantine Mosaics in Greece: Hosios Lucas and Daphni* (Cambridge, Mass., 1931), figs. 3 and 4.

been rigidly subdivided to form separate compartments for the subordinate scenes. Thus the Bathing of the Child is separated from the central scene in the cave of the Nativity, and the shepherds from both. The flautist who plays on unconcernedly is logically isolated from his two companions who have seen the approaching angel, and a zone of landscape separates the mouth of the cave, where Joseph sits, from the vacant area which was probably occupied by the Magi. Moreover, the skylines and the dividing landscape contours are all edged with a fringe of stylized foliage painted in black and carrying flowers with white petals and alternately red and blue centers (fig. e).

Flower-bordered landscape contours of this kind are a recurring feature of the miniatures of the Kokkinobaphos group of manuscripts produced in the imperial scriptorium in the second quarter of the twelfth century.⁸² It could be that a Gospelbook belonging to this group provided the model for the Perachorio Nativity, in which case there would be a useful *terminus post quem* for the whole decoration. It is true that herbaceous edgings of simpler form are occasionally found in monumental paintings, including some of earlier date such as the Kakopetria Transfiguration.⁸³ They recur in the Nativity in Qarabach Kilisse, datable to the second half of the twelfth century, which of all the Cappadocian Nativities is closest to Perachorio, and with a larger type of plant in that of Tchareqle Kilisse,⁸⁴ also in the late twelfth century in Kastoria.⁸⁵ Yet the systematic use of this feature found at Perachorio, where it reappears in the Baptism, is paralleled best in this group of Constantinopolitan manuscripts. It remains possible that a vogue for it during the first half of the twelfth century in lost monumental paintings of the capital may have provided the inspiration both for the miniaturists and for the painters of the Perachorio Nativity and the other frescoes where it appears.

The landscape itself shades from white to light pink and red, in the area of the shepherds to pink and purple-brown. Apart from the flowered edgings there are a few isolated plants, of which the best preserved is that below the young shepherd's raised arm (fig. 32): four blooms, as on the edgings, but here on sinuous leafy stems, exactly reproducing a type used by the miniaturists.⁸⁶ A solitary tree, a cypress with grey and white foliage edged with black, provides a convenient fork in which to dispose the shepherds' belongings: a sack and

⁸² E.g. Vatican gr. 1162, fol. 48, Anastasis (C. Stornajolo, "Miniature delle Omilie di Giacomo Monaco," *Codices a Vaticanis Selecti, ser. min.*, I [Rome, 1910], pl. 19); fol. 54^v, Burning Bush (*ibid.*, pl. 21); fol. 156^v (*ibid.*, pl. 66); Paris gr. 1208, fol. 15^v, Prayer of Joachim (H. Omont, *Miniatures des homélies sur la Vierge du moine Jacques* [Paris, 1927], pl. 111a), fols. 47, 49, and 50, Paradise (*ibid.*, pl. v, a and vi); fol. 73^v, Burning Bush (*ibid.*, pl. x); Paris gr. 71: fol. 149^v, St. John (H. Omont, *Miniatures des manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale* [Paris, 1929], pl. LXXXVII); Topkapı Saray Library cod. 8: fols. 29 and 36^v (F. Uspensky, *Izvestiia Russk. Arkheol. Institut. v Konstantinopole*, XII, *Album* [Munich, 1907], pl. x, 21).

⁸³ A. and J. Stylianou, "Ο ναός του Ἀγίου Νικολάου τῆς Στέγης παρὰ τὴν Κακοπετριάν," *Κυπριακαὶ Σπουδαί*, 10 (Nicosia, 1948), fig. 4.

⁸⁴ Qarabach Kilisse: G. de Jerphanion, *op. cit.*, II, p. 381, fig. 110 and pls. 198, 1 and 203. The decoration of which it forms part is regarded (*ibid.*, II, p. 421) as slightly later than those of Tchareqle Kilisse and the other column churches, now assigned to the latter part of the twelfth century (Demus, *op. cit.*, p. 427). Tchareqle Kilisse: G. de Jerphanion, *op. cit.*, pl. 127, 2.

⁸⁵ Hagioi Anargyroi: Nativity and Ascension (Pelekanides, *op. cit.*, pls. 15 and 35).

⁸⁶ Notably in the Garden of Eden scenes in the Topkapı Saray octateuch: e.g. fols. 41^v and 47.

a buckled leather belt with pouch attached.⁸⁷ Below the tree are the fleecy backs of three sheep that follow the shepherds.

The mouth of the cave is edged with black and white and the interior is blue-black. The rectangular manger is red overpainted on the exterior with white masonry or brick jointing. Within it is black to set off the swaddling clothes of the Child which are white shaded with grey. The upper part of these is lost together with the hands of Mary, who appears to draw the Child to her; his head is on the mattress, which covers the end of the manger. His yellow nimbus has a white cross outlined in light blue, the arms of which are overpainted at the inner end with thin purple lines, providing a shadow to set off the head. In the face one eye survives, turned up to look at the Mother of God. The head of the ox is frontal and painted in yellow-brown with warm brown outlines; that of the ass in profile, yellow-grey with blue shadows and black outlines.

Over a blue chiton the Mother of God ($\overline{\text{MHP}} \overline{\Theta 8}$) wears a purple *maphorion* with black shadow lines and lit with a bright light blue. She sits with legs extended to the viewer's left and her feet, in blue stockings, are shown in profile; but she turns her head and shoulders in the opposite direction to clasp the Child. This is the position of the earlier Sicilian Nativities: closest to that of the Cappella Palatina since the legs are crossed, left over right, at the ankle.⁸⁸ But the figure has other features that link it with Monreale, although there a different iconography is followed in this scene: the outline of the right knee does not break the surrounding contour of the mattress, nor is this cut on the other side by hanging folds of the *maphorion*, as is the case in both the earlier Sicilian Nativities. The conformity of figure contours with those of the larger forms in which they are inscribed is an element in the compositional style of Monreale which Professor Demus has traced in monumental painting only after the middle of the twelfth century.⁸⁹ In compliance with this "knitting together of the single forms of the picture into a closely woven whole with a dynamic tension," there is an inflection in the mouth of the cave on the left side repeating the line of Mary's right knee; and in sympathy with the curve of her left thigh the adjoining outline of the subsidiary cave is bent into an obtuse cusp. Secondly, the disk-like form given to Mary's left hip is a characteristic of the Monreale style found also in late twelfth-century frescoes in Cyprus, as Professor Demus has pointed out, though it had already appeared in dated manuscripts in the sixties.⁹⁰

The mattress is light red in color and has the usual semicircular ends, here ornamented at the foot with a diaper in red enriched with pearls on a yellow

⁸⁷ For the dark edging of the otherwise plain tree foliage, compare some Monreale trees: that above Eve in the scene of Eve and the Snake at Monreale (Demus, *op. cit.*, pl. 97A) and the right-hand tree in the Judgment (*ibid.*, pl. 97B); for the sack in the fork of the tree, that in the Monreale Nativity above the shepherds (*ibid.*, pl. 65B).

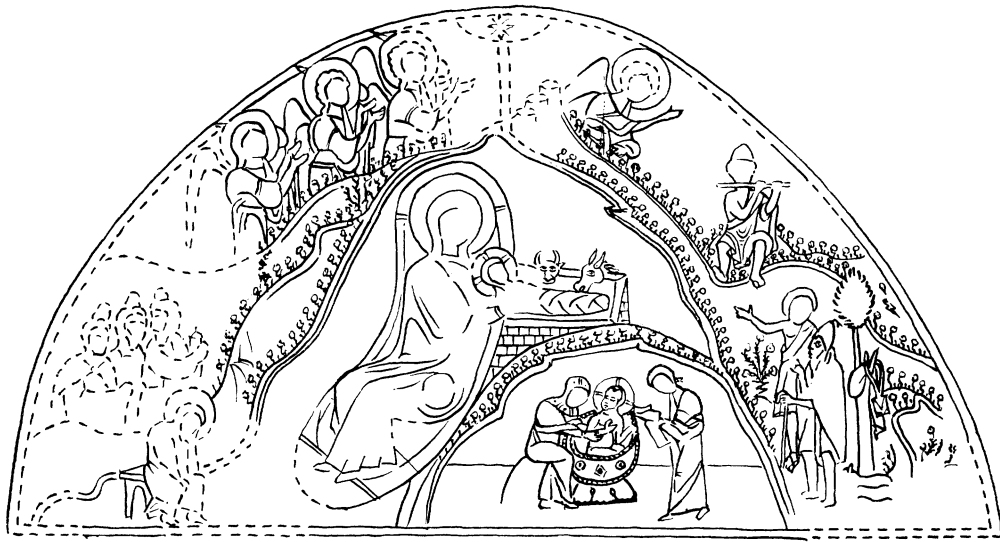
⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, pls. 17 (Cappella Palatina) and 55 (Martorana). At Perachorio the legs are disproportionately short below the knee, a defect shared with two Nativities of the latter part of the twelfth century: Qaranleq Kilisse (G. de Jerphanion, *op. cit.*, pl. 100, 2) and Tchareqle Kilisse (*ibid.*, pl. 127, 2).

⁸⁹ Demus, *op. cit.*, p. 418f.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 422, 427, and 434.

ground. At the head it is concentric both with the nimbus and with the adjoining section of the mouth of the cave. The mattress cover is crossed near the Virgin's neck and knees by bands of cufesque motifs drawn in a thin, pale blue outline, evidently representing a woven design (fig. c, 6). A third band between these two repeats a common border design: palmettes, alternately vertical and pendent.

The position of Joseph is apparent, from a section of nimbus and the outline of the top of a head at the extreme left of the main preserved area of the fresco. His pose is fixed by a separate fragment attached to the bottom border of the lunette a little further to the left; for here are preserved the outlines of part of his back and of his right leg as well as of the stool on which he sits (fig. e). The



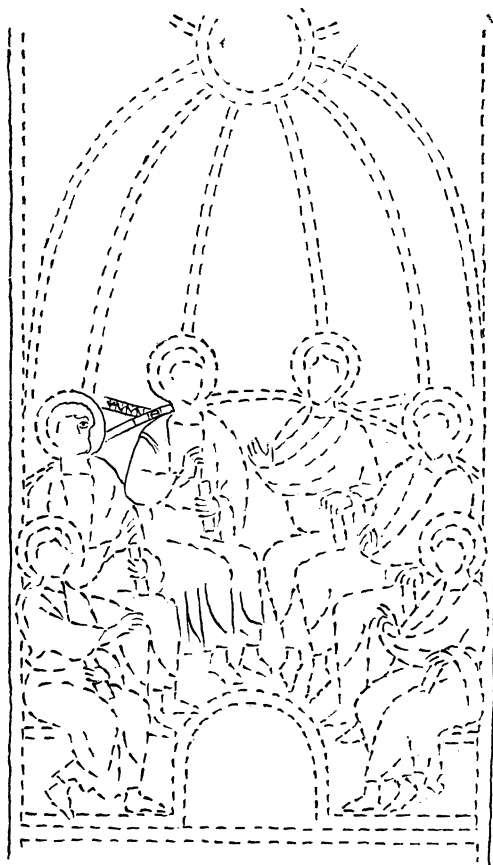
e. Nativity, with suggested Restorations (1:25)

latter is arched at the side and painted in yellow and brown; the visible part of Joseph's robe is purple, outlined in black, lit with white. From these fragments it is clear that he faced inwards and was represented in pensive mood, with head bent, probably supported by his left hand, and with his elbow on his knee, as in the Lagoudera Nativity.⁹¹ The ground behind Joseph is black as far up as the curving lip that forms the limit of the cave, above which an area of the light red landscape color is preserved.

In the scene of the Bathing of the Child the ground is blue above and green below, the basin yellow outlined in dark brown (fig. 33). The latter is seen in oblique view from above, except for the foot, and is enriched with pearls and red and blue stones; the foot is formed of inverted acanthus leaves, which have the dot high lights observed already on the frame of the Pantocrator medallion and on the capital of St. Simeon's column. The child Christ is held in the seated position by the midwife; His legs are to the right but His head and eyes

⁹¹ Stylianou, *op. cit.*, pl. 147.

are turned back and up towards Mary in a glance that bridges the gap in space and time between the two scenes. He does not bless but makes a gesture with His right hand. The flesh color is a brownish yellow, with dark brown outlines, purple shadows, and almost white highlights. The nimbus is outlined in red



f. Fragments in West Vault, restored as part of Pentecost (1:25)

and white and bears a cross of which the arms are indicated by a single stroke each of blue and white. The midwife is seated on an ovoid rock and wears a white head-scarf shaded in blue and detailed in black. Over a white undergarment she is dressed in a short-sleeved, purple robe shading to grey and outlined in black. A white towel passes round her back, its ends hanging between her arms. Salome has a purple and yellow headcloth which appears to be tied in place with two turns of a thin white fillet. Over her light brown robe with white sleeve-stripe a dark purple mantle is wrapped; both have black outlines. She pours from a bottle-shaped vessel of grey color shaded with blue and highlighted with white, evidently to represent silver; it has a thin vertical handle, but Salome holds it by the base with both hands, which are covered with a blue-grey cloth. The heads of all three figures are over-large for their bodies, possibly as a result of the difficulty of painting the facial details with clarity on a smaller scale. As it is, the faces are only some 0.15 m. high. They are among the best preserved in the whole decoration, but although they have

the characteristic smooth modelling, they are not worthy of the master who sketched with such verve the features of the Mother of God and the apostles in the apse. On the other hand, the pose of the midwife's head and her facial type are close to those of the angels in the dome. Other links exist between the Nativity and the dome decoration (e.g. the acanthus ornament) and between the Nativity and the Baptism below it (flowered landscape edgings), and it is probable that the assistant who completed the painting of the dome worked on the scenes on the south wall and possibly on the pendentives also.

All three of the angels on the left are similarly posed, with their wings in the alighting position, left wing behind nimbus; and their arms raised and pointing, surely, to the missing star, a gesture implying the presence, originally, of the Magi who would have received this guidance. All have blue-grey *sticharia* with black outlines and sleeve-stripes and white high lights. The chlamys of each is red, again with white lights and black outlines. The yellow nimbi are outlined in red and white and the wings, which are basically purple, have black shadows and white feathering. In the treatment of their curly hair bound with fillets they are particularly close to the dome angels (e.g. figs. 7–8). The leading angel on the right, which is dressed like the others, differs from them in the position of the hands: the right raised high to attract the shepherds' attention, the left clasping the loose folds of his chlamys to his waist.

The musician wears a light brown pointed cap with a blue rosette at the crown and a blue band bordered with white round the bottom. Barelegged, but wearing sandals, he has his light brown cloak draped over his left shoulder, leaving the other uncovered. The young shepherd is similarly clad, but bare-headed. The old man wears his usual sheepskin cloak, blue-grey in color, above a short brown tunic. His pointed skin cap is grey with the fleece indicated by fine blue and black lines. The lower parts of his legs are preserved only in the sketch, but this seems to suggest that he is wearing the standard leg-boots. His head, seen in profile, is well preserved and strongly featured, with long white hair and pointed beard.

As for the missing Magi, all that can be said is that if they were represented above Joseph, as seems probable, they must have been shown still at a distance from the cave, in a position where their presence did not require integration with the central group. When in other Nativities they were represented at the moment of arrival, either they had to be shown approaching a central group of the Perachorio type from the right, which dislocated the shepherds,⁹² or, by remaining on the left, they attracted the manger to that side and Mary was turned to face them, as in the Lagoudera Nativity.⁹³ The fact that the Magi were not shown close to the cave at Perachorio is an indication that these frescoes belong to an earlier phase in iconographic development than the Lagoudera cycle of 1192.

The *Presentation* (fig. 34), which occupies the east half of the zone below the

⁹² As in the Nativity of the Vatopedi tetraevangelium, cod. 610 (Millet, *op. cit.*, fig. 102).

⁹³ Stylianos, *op. cit.*, pl. 147. Also in the almost contemporary (1199) Spas Nereditsy Nativity (Sychev and Miasoedov, *op. cit.*, pl. LXVI).

Nativity, is the only reasonably well preserved example of the work of those who restored the lower areas of the decoration outside the bema, not before the fifteenth century, if we may judge by its style. It is smaller in height and width (1.07 by 1.20 m.) than the adjoining scene of the Baptism, to which the original panel in this position doubtless conformed, extending on the right side to include the half spandrel over the shoulder of the window arch (fig. a, 2). In view of its position in the cycle next to the Nativity and the Baptism, the subject of the original panel can only have been a Presentation; but the existing composition cannot be regarded as a restoration. It was an entirely new version in the manner of its time, designed to fill a different shape and executed on a smaller scale (the height of the figures is only 0.60 m.) and with a much brighter color range than the original decoration.

The background appears black, but it is evident that it was originally overpainted with copper blue, traces of which remain on the west side, changed to a bright green. The loss of the overpaint has destroyed the usual titulus (ἡ Ὑπαπαντή). The letters of the inscription IC XC identifying the infant Christ, immediately to the left of His nimbus, are white tinged with green and only 0.004 m. high. The Child, in the arms of Simeon, is robed in light red with fine highlights and extends His right arm towards Mary in an apprehensive gesture. Simeon wears a light green and white chiton, seen only at the lower hem, and a light red himation with red shadows and white lights. He stoops slightly as he moves forward to return the Child to His mother. His yellow nimbus has brown and white outlines and the others are similar. Mary's arms, covered by the violet purple *maphorion*, are raised to receive back the Child; her chiton, seen only in a few patches surviving near the feet, is blue. Behind her Anna, the prophetess, wears light red and yellow over light red; she holds a rotulus on which is preserved the beginning of the text prescribed in the Hermeneia: τοῦτ[ο] | τὸ βρ[έ]φος | τὸν] οὐρ[ανὸν]. There was no room for the remainder: καὶ τὴν γῆν ἐδημιούργησεν.⁹⁴ On the extreme left, Joseph arrives with his two pigeons; he wears reddish ochre over blue-black. The cloth on the altar table is yellow on top; in front, purple lit with yellow and enriched with white embroidery. On it is a yellow book with white edges, pearls on the cover and light brown clasps. The flat-topped ciborium, which is represented as standing behind the altar, is pink with white ornamentation and supported on pale green shafts and capitals. The semicircular screen behind Simeon and the step on which he stands are broken white with some white high lights, the background architecture grey and white.

Of the *Baptism*, which filled the other, western half of the zone below the Nativity, only the upper section of the left half has survived (fig. 35). In its present form, the panel containing this scene extends eastwards over the full width of the lunette window, to the border of the later Presentation; but there is no original paint east of the center point of the window, and it is probable that the panel originally ended at this point. In that case, its width at the top

⁹⁴ Ἑρμηνεία τῶν Λωγράφων, ed. Konstantinides (Athens, 1885), p. 113; ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus (St. Petersburg, 1909), p. 87.

would have been some 1.50 m., whereas owing to the intrusion of the window the width at the bottom is only 1.00 m. In its height and vertical position on the wall this Baptism panel corresponded with the Communion zone in the apse. The central figure of Christ was moved to the right so that the interference caused by the window was reduced, but even so the group of angels was cut somewhat awkwardly. At first sight this would seem to have been the reason for the reversal of the normal arrangement showing the Baptist on the left; for it would have been a more serious matter if this essential figure had been truncated. However, this reversal is by no means unique; it is seen in a fair number of eleventh- and twelfth-century examples, both monumental, including that at Hosios Lukas,⁹⁵ and in manuscripts;⁹⁶ examples which are not fortuitous but are linked by other common features and explained as a revival of earlier eastern iconography. Consequently, at Perachorio it can hardly be regarded as the result of local improvisation; rather should it be assumed that a model of the Hosios Lukas redaction was available and was recognized as appropriate for the irregular space available, at least so far as the two principal figures were concerned.

The sky-background is blue, except in the added section next to the Presentation, which is black. The river, grey rippled with black and white, rose in the usual bell-shaped form to the height of Christ's shoulders, to judge by the one section of jagged bank that survives. The skyline rises from the same focal point, at the neck, to a hill behind the angels, purple-pink in color and terminating in an outcrop of cylindrical rocks, a convention which enjoyed a long vogue but which was particularly a feature of twelfth-century landscapes.⁹⁷ The small escarpment running up to the summit has the same flowered edging as is used in the Nativity.

Christ is slightly turned towards the Baptist, whose hand rests on the top of His head. Since his right arm is bent at the elbow his right hand was doubtless raised to bless in conformity with the Hosios Lukas type. Here, however, the whole arm seems to have been out of the water, a detail shared with one of the latest of the related examples.⁹⁸ The yellow nimbus (diam. 0.23 m.) is outlined with red and white, as are those of the angels, and a fragment of its cross is preserved (fig. c, 3). This was enriched with a diaper of white crenellated lozenges on light blue, with a black square at the center of each, akin to that of the Pantocrator's nimbus cross. The hair is a warm purple-brown, overlined with a lighter tone.

The angels are four in number, though the heads of only three are seen; a multiplication of the original two that is consistent with the practice of the twelfth century.⁹⁹ Their left wings are all in the alighting position and they

⁹⁵ Diez and Demus, *op. cit.*, fig. 6 and discussion on p. 57 ff.

⁹⁶ Listed and discussed by Millet, *op. cit.*, p. 180 ff.

⁹⁷ In Baptisms: Cappella Palatina (Demus, *op. cit.*, pl. 19A); Latmos, Christ Cave (*Milet*, III, 1 [Berlin, 1913], pl. vi, 2); Mirozh Cathedral of Pskov, ca. 1156 (Millet, *op. cit.*, fig. 135); Rossicon, cod. 2 (*ibid.*, fig. 132). In the Monreale landscapes the convention is repeated and elaborated as in no other monument.

⁹⁸ Paris Syr. 355, ca. 1200 (Millet, *op. cit.*, fig. 144).

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 178.

extend their arms, seen only in the case of the second and third angels, bearing the robes of Christ, which are light purple with dark purple shadow lines and white embroidery. The second angel, the only one whose garments can be seen, wears a grey *sticharion* with black sleeve-stripes and white lights, and a chlamys wrapped round the waist and hanging over the left shoulder: white with green shadows and black outlines. The manner in which the end of the chlamys passes across the extended arms and hangs over the wing of the nearest angel emphasizes the compact, integrated character of the group. From what survives of the sketch for his face, it is apparent that the first angel has the same Hellenistic elegance that is seen elsewhere, for example in the head of the archangel in the Ascension (fig. 17). To this the face of the second angel, which preserves most of the final paint, offers a surprising contrast with its somewhat uncouth expression. We see here, as in the Bathing of the Child in the Nativity, the hand of an indifferent assistant barbarizing the sophisticated conception of the master, who doubtless sketched the whole decoration in its main lines. This angel raises his eyes as one of their number often does,¹⁰⁰ which implies the presence, at least in the model for this scene, of the segment of heaven, the hand of God, and the descending dove. No trace of these has survived and it may well be that they were omitted in order to avoid compressing them into the inadequate space above the head of Christ.

Of the *Anastasis* only two isolated fragments survive on the right side of the lunette within the dome arch on the north wall (fig. a, 1). The one, which includes a section of the border along the arch near its springing, preserves part of a marble sarcophagus and of the figure rising from it. The figure is *en face* and, since the raised left hand is covered by an outer garment, this is probably Solomon. The other fragment includes a section of the lower border and is almost entirely eroded, but an oblique band rising towards the center of the lunette, with more of the marble sarcophagus to the right and a dark area to the left, is doubtless part of the triangular mouth of Hades. The scale of these fragments is such as to leave no doubt that the scene filled the whole of the lunette, covering the blocked window, and conformed in its general lines with the Lagoudera *Anastasis*.¹⁰¹

The tripartite *Ascension* filled the whole of the bema vault; it is relatively well preserved in the two lateral groups of spectators, but almost the whole of the central section with the ascending Christ has been lost (fig. 31). The surviving part of it is on the north side and there is enough to show that the mandorla was circular and was carried on each side by a single angel. The mandorla evidently comprised a series of broad concentric zones, akin to those of the Lagoudera *Ascension*;¹⁰² the outermost pink, which tells well against the blue-black sky, and that next to it light red. On the surviving fragment the sketch for the blessing hand of Christ is preserved. The flying angel was drawn to be seen from two directions: the lower part from the axis of the church, the viewpoint for

¹⁰⁰ Compare the leading angel in an analogous twelfth-century Baptism of the Hosios Lukas type: Vatican gr. 1156 (*ibid.*, fig. 141).

¹⁰¹ Stylianou, *op. cit.*, pl. 150.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, pl. 152, 2.

the Christ, since from this angle the folds at the hem of the angel's *sticharion* appear to fall vertically; the rest of the figure from the north, whence the folds of the chlamys over the right arm appear to hang vertically above the heads of the Mother of God and her companions. The widely parted legs, the right one sharply bent at the knee and the other graphically revealed by the clinging garments, convey an impression of powerful movement; while the right arm with the hand clasping the mandorla is not without grace, though it survives only in the sketch. The preserved wing is purple, boldly outlined in black and overpainted with white and yellow feathers. The chlamys is light red, shadowed in darker red, with black outlines and white high lights. The *sticharion* beneath it is a dull blue with white high lights and it has a black *clavus* following the outline of the right leg.

The adjoining treetop, of characteristic mushroom form, is one of the best preserved (fig. 31). Set aslant on its trunk, it reads equally well from whichever angle it is viewed and thus serves, as does the angel, to effect the transition from the lateral to the longitudinal axis. Such adjustments to some extent overcame the difficulties inherent in accommodating a dome composition to a semicylindrical form. The treetop is purple in color, outlined in black and fringed with black foliage bearing florets with white dots for petals and center, repeating the landscape edgings of the Nativity. Within the outline, and concentric with it, is a garland with similar florets.¹⁰³ The tree to which this highly formalized foliage belongs is one of three on the north side (fig. 38): two lateral ones of double-deck form and a central one of steep umbrella shape with a sinuous trunk that rises from the ground between the two central figures and splits into three branches below the foliage. All the trunks and the branches are greenish brown outlined in black. The sky behind them continues blue-black to about the level of the apostles' knees, below which point the ground is a uniform green. All the foliage masses have the flowered fringes and both decks of the lateral trees have the inner garland. The central tree is basically green-brown and within the fringe was overpainted in black with a network of curvilinear foliage bearing the same florets, to judge by the small section that has survived.

The retention of the trees in this scene links it with the Asinou Ascension, likewise a tripartite composition in the bema vault,¹⁰⁴ and the Ascension domes where trees separate the individual spectators. By the late twelfth century the trees could be dropped, as at Lagoudera.¹⁰⁵ However, the Perachorio master did not repeat the cypress tree used at Asinou but employed forms in favor at a somewhat later date, selecting those that suited his composition best. The mushroom type is common in illuminations of the Kokkinobaphos group¹⁰⁶

¹⁰³ The ring of flowers within a dark outline recurs at Monreale in the tree nearest the Creator in the Creation of Sea and Plants (Demus, *op. cit.*, pl. 94A).

¹⁰⁴ Harold (Buxton, Bishop of) Gibraltar and others, *op. cit.*, sections on p. 334f.

¹⁰⁵ Stylianou, *op. cit.*, pl. 151. The Monreale Ascension also lacks trees, though this is a flat version, more in the narrative tradition (Demus, *op. cit.*, pl. 74B and, for discussion, p. 291).

¹⁰⁶ Vatican gr. 1162, fol. 50^v (Stornajolo, *op. cit.*, pl. 20) and fol. 147 (*ibid.*, pl. 64); Paris gr. 1208, fol. 21^v (Omout, *Miniatures des homélies*, *op. cit.*, pl. 111), fol. 50 (*ibid.*, pl. vi) and fol. 69^v (*ibid.*, pl. ix); Topkapı Saray Library cod. 8, fol. 257 (D. Talbot Rice, *The Art of Byzantium* [London, 1959], pl. xx).

and remained popular in the second half of the twelfth century, to judge by examples in the mosaics of St. Mark's in Venice which derive from late Comnenian models.¹⁰⁷ Although the double-deck tree enjoyed a longer vogue,¹⁰⁸ it is a characteristic element in twelfth-century landscape both in miniatures¹⁰⁹ and in monumental art.¹¹⁰

The northern group of spectators includes three apostles on either side of the Mother of God, but it is a far from symmetrical composition. The Virgin, who alone has a nimbus, is not in the center, nor has she the frontal iconic pose of dome Ascensions, which is commonly carried into bema compositions. Instead she turns to her left, looks up, and raises her hands to the ascending Christ, the Deesis formula occasionally employed in representations of this scene.¹¹¹ She shares the central position with a powerful figure of St. Peter. The latter is shown in three-quarters back view, but with his head turned sharply over his left shoulder and with his left hand raised in a sweeping movement to shade his eyes. His right arm hangs down behind him, the hand holding the end of his himation. The hand raised to shade the eyes is a detail copied from the dome type, which is found also in the flat version of the scene, but normally apostles shown in this posture are seen from the front.¹¹² St. Philip in the Asinou Ascension is in an intermediate position: from the waist up he conforms with the frontal type, with his right hand raised, while below the waist he is seen in profile moving to the viewer's left, with the left foot forward and the left hand holding the hem of his himation behind his back. Later monuments evidently modified this twisted posture of St. Philip, by converting his front, above the waist, into his back, thus making the raised hand his left and the arm hanging down his right.¹¹³ Such a back view of St. Philip was used by the Perachorio master as the model for his St. Peter, the dynamic posture giving full scope to his special gift for rhythmic drawing. St. Philip himself is here reduced to little more than a head appearing at the extreme right. Between him and

¹⁰⁷ Millet, *op. cit.*, fig. 588; O. Demus, *Die Mosaiken von S. Marco in Venedig* (Vienna, 1935), fig. 43. The trees of the Ascension dome in St. Mark's (*ibid.*, fig. 12), retrospective as a conception but in detail reflecting late Comnenian style, are closer to those of Perachorio than to the trees of any other surviving dome version of the scene.

¹⁰⁸ Witness the Venice Cynegetica of Oppian (O. M. Dalton, *Byzantine Art and Archaeology* [London, 1911], figs. 158 and 289) and the London psalter of 1066 (Talbot Rice, *op. cit.*, pl. xvii).

¹⁰⁹ E.g. Topkapı Saray Library cod. 8, fols. 36^v, 43^v with flowered fringes (*ibid.*, pl. xix), 46, 209^v, 233, 257 (*ibid.*, pl. xx), and 478^v.

¹¹⁰ Cappella Palatina: the Infancy of Christ (Demus, *Mosaics of Norman Sicily*, pl. 18) and the Baptism (*ibid.*, pl. 19A); Monreale: Nativity, above Joseph (*ibid.*, pl. 65B), the Creator's Rest, and the Garden of Eden (*ibid.*, pl. 95A and B), and the Death of Cain (*ibid.*, pl. 99A).

¹¹¹ E.g. the ivory casket lid in Stuttgart (A. Goldschmidt and K. Weitzmann, *Die byzantinischen Elfenbeinskulpturen des X. bis XII. Jahrhunderts*, II [Berlin, 1931], no. 24; Talbot Rice, *op. cit.*, pl. 147) and the miniature in Vatican gr. 1208 (Demus, *Byzantine Mosaic Decoration*, pl. 62B; bibliography in *id.*, *Mosaics of Norman Sicily*, p. 441, note 118). The Deesis formula, though comparatively rare in Ascensions, must have had wide currency from an early date through its employment in the Hagiosoritissa icon, for which it is attested by seals (D. Lathoud, *Echos d'Orient*, 23 [1924], pp. 55-57).

¹¹² E.g. Salonica, Hagia Sophia (C. Diehl, M. Le Tourneau, and A. Saladin, *Les monuments chrétiens de Salonique* [Paris, 1918], pls. XLV-XLVII); Monreale (Demus, *Mosaics of Norman Sicily*, pl. 74B) and Lagoudera (Stylianou, *op. cit.*, pl. 151).

¹¹³ Such is St. Philip in the Ascension dome of St. Mark's in Venice, where St. Thomas is shown in a corresponding back view with his right arm raised (good detail in Diez and Demus, *op. cit.*, fig. 130). The back view in itself was no novelty, since it was already employed in the ninth century in the Salonica Ascension (see preceding note).

St. Peter is one of the Evangelists, probably St. Matthew, carrying his Gospel-book. The heads of all three, eroded to the sketch, are raised obliquely; their distinctive features drawn with the same confidence and economy of line as those of the apostles in the Communion.

Three more apostles behind the Mother of God complete the group, their heads upturned. Only the foremost was shown as a complete figure. His left hand is raised high, pointing to the ascending Christ. Below the waist, although much is lost, his posture reflects that of St. Peter; but it is more static owing to the restricted space available, and it is a profile not a back view. His head survives in the sketch, though much denuded, and what remains of the face seems to warrant identification as St. John, an appropriate companion for the Mother of God. The matter is put almost beyond doubt by the angular line forming the upper limit of the completely denuded area below his head, for this would answer exactly the outline of a Gospelbook held high in the crook of the right arm. Behind him and partly cut by the border is a third Evangelist, with the recognizable features of St. Luke; *en face*, but for his upturned head, and holding his Gospel prominently before him in his right hand. The sixth apostle stands immediately behind St. John and, like the latter, points to the sky.

The Mother of God wears a dark blue chiton with black shadow lines and ornamented cuffs: two lines of yellow with traces of a star between. Her hair is covered by a blue veil below the purple maphorion. This latter has black fold-lines and is edged at the lower hem with two parallel lines of yellow, elsewhere with a single line. On the forehead and the left breast are traces of yellow stars. The yellow nimbus has red and white outlines. Only the sketch for the face and hands has survived. St. Peter's chiton, which has prominent black sleeve-stripes, is light red with red contours and fold-lines; his himation orange-red with black outlines and red shadows in the folds; both have grey to white high lights. St. Matthew wears dull green lit with white, over grey outlined in red at the neck but with black fold-lines; his Gospel has a dark blue edge and yellow cover ornamented with a simple jewelled cross. St. John, behind the Mother of God, wears a light red himation shaded with darker red and outlined with black, over a grey chiton; white high lights on both garments. St. Luke wears light purple over green; the edge of his Gospel is dull blue, but the cover and the right hand which crosses it to hold it at the corner are both denuded of color. It is noteworthy that, with the master's characteristic distaste for repetition, no two of the three Gospels are shown similarly held.

Above the opposite group of spectators, everything is lost except for part of the lower section of the lateral tree on the left side, with its trunk below, and part of its obliquely set equivalent on the right (fig. 39). The foliage and flowers are like those on the north side, but the trunk is purple brown with a broad grey light on the left side. The lost area extends down to trim the tops off the heads of the angel and four of the apostles, and there is a second area missing at the bottom right corner of the panel; but the arrangement of the group remains quite clear. It is again most unusual. The angel, who alone is nimbed, is commonly in the center of a balanced group; but here he shares the

central position with an apostle who can reasonably be identified as St. James, for he alone after St. Peter and St. John would be entitled to this prominence.¹¹⁴ Like the opposite pair of the Mother of God and St. Peter, the angel and St. James offer an extreme example of the "dialogue grouping" for which a taste developed in the twelfth century. Secondly, whereas a single apostle stands by the right-hand border, shading his eyes with his right hand (an Evangelist who must be St. Mark if the others are correctly identified), no less than four are bunched into the background on the left. Lastly, while the two who flank the angel look upward to the ascending Christ, only one of the others follows their gaze and the remaining three, guided by an unmistakable St. Andrew, look away to the left, as though to the Mother of God in the conch of the adjoining apse. In these three respects the master has taken great liberties with the formalized iconography that the bema Ascension retained in the early twelfth century from its dome prototype, for example at Asinou. He took these liberties in order to indulge his flair for dynamic composition, which here as elsewhere is not focussed entirely on the individual scene, but carries the eye outside it to integrate the whole decoration.

The inclusion of the four Evangelists with their gospels is another feature that links the Ascension with other parts of the decoration. In this scene they are doubly anachronistic: only St. Matthew and St. John were present at the Ascension, at which juncture it is not to be supposed that the gospels were completed. Their presence here is to be explained, not necessarily as an inheritance from the dome Ascensions, whose character of a dogmatic rather than a historical image required that the ideal college with St. Paul be included,¹¹⁵ but rather because in this small church there was no room for their usual separate portraits below the Pantocrator. The same pressure of space which carried the prophets into the west bay has carried the Evangelists into the east vault. That they are not here merely as a result of slavish copying from a dome Ascension is proved by the absence of St. Paul. He is sometimes transported into such bema compositions, and even into flat versions which are primarily narrative, not dogmatic in character.¹¹⁶ Here as co-patron of the church there might well have been temptation to retain him as a pendant to St. Peter in the northern group of spectators, but in this respect the master has followed a good model, as did the mosaicists of Monreale, where St. Andrew takes the place occupied by St. Paul in the dome Ascensions, as St. James does at Perachorio.

The angel and St. James are united by the curving line formed by the oblique hems of their himatia, a characteristic Comnenian device, and by the repetitive vertical accents of their hanging folds; but to the contorted apostle, imbued with the drama of the scene, the angel opposes a statuesque immobility, broken only by the sweep of the right arm with the hand over the left shoulder

¹¹⁴ Comparison of the head with that of St. Paul in the apse (fig. 18) disposes of the possibility that this figure also represents St. Paul.

¹¹⁵ The Evangelists have their Gospels in Hagia Sophia in Salonica, in some of the Russian Ascension domes including Spas Nereditzy (Sychev and Miasoedov, *op. cit.*, pl. VII, 2) and at Asinou, but not in that of St. Mark's in Venice.

¹¹⁶ E.g. the Lagoudera fresco and the miniature in Vatican gr. 1208 (see note III *supra*).

in designation of the scene above. The sketch for the angel's head (fig. 17) is well preserved and shows the master's usual calligraphic quality of line employed to represent a level gaze over the other shoulder with features of truly Hellenistic beauty. In his left hand he holds a purple-brown staff, vertically, with the head concealed behind his right arm. His wings have been kept well back in order to leave the maximum space for the figures, but the hanging feathers and oblique edge of the left one, black and white on purple, can be seen below St. Mark's raised arm.

St. James, from his waist to his upturned head, is seen from the front, his right hand on his hip; his right leg, however, is thrown forward so that the lower part of his chiton and his left foot are seen almost from the rear. The excessive relief of the right thigh, like the shadow under the angel's right knee, betrays an interest in, almost an obsession with, three-dimensional effects, which is revealed in another detail. The trailing end of the apostle's himation, which is looped forward over his right shoulder, reappears from behind under the armpit and billows out over the forearm before coming to an end, hanging from the wrist.

The spatial recession of the group behind St. James has been brought out by the unusual device of putting St. Andrew back to back with him. St. Andrew's left leg is seen from behind, the outline curving in over-sharply at the waist to pick up the opposing curve of St. James's right thigh. In the aperture formed by St. James's right arm are seen the horizontal folds of St. Andrew's himation wound round his waist, and, higher up, the back view of his extended left arm. Although the surface paint in this area is lost, it is clear that both his arms were shown upstretched together: two thumbs are visible and the folds of his himation seen below the left sleeve of his chiton must hang over his right arm. St. Andrew thus offers a further example of the twisted torso: back view below the waist, in profile to the left above. The curious vertical form on the extreme left was evidently sketched as the lower part of the tree trunk but, when the section above St. Andrew's arms was finally painted, in purple-brown, out of line with it, it was disguised with drapery color; orange shaded with red and lit with white.

The crowding of the remaining three apostles behind and above St. Andrew cannot be explained by pressure of space alone, for some of them could have been accommodated more comfortably with St. Mark. It seems to reflect a positive interest in involved composition for its own sake, possibly in reaction to the excessive formality of much early twelfth-century painting. The complex grouping of these Perachorio apostles finds its closest parallels in the Monreale Ascension and in Elmale Kilisse, one of the late Comnenian column-churches in Cappadocia, in an Ascension panel with all twelve apostles grouped round the Mother of God.¹¹⁷ This development may have been shortlived, or limited to a particular school of painters, for the Lagoudera Ascension reverted to the

¹¹⁷ Monreale: Demus, *op. cit.*, pl. 74B; Elmale Kilisse: G. de Jerphanion, *op. cit.*, pl. 120, 3. Monreale also provides examples of this taste in composition applied to other scenes: the Washing of the Feet (Demus, *op. cit.*, pl. 69A) and the Agony in the Garden (*ibid.*, pl. 69B).

formal arrangement of Asinou: three apostles on either side of a central Mother of God or angel, as the case may be, two in the foreground and one behind them.¹¹⁸

Exaggeration of gesture, on the other hand, is a commonplace in Ascensions and contortion of posture a recurrent phenomenon. Thus Moses in the Topkapı Saray Octateuch, who turns to watch the fate of the Egyptians as he strides away from the Red Sea, is closely modelled on the corresponding figure in the much earlier Paris Psalter.¹¹⁹ But judging by the provincial monuments of the latter part of the twelfth century, which alone survive, one aspect of the reaction against the extreme formalization of the early Comnenian monumental style was a renewed interest in dynamic figure postures as a means of evoking the drama of an event or of focussing attention on an individual. Such is the group of St. Peter and Malchus in the Betrayal at Monreale; such is the figure of Christ Himself in the same scene, seized from both sides yet extending His hand to heal the severed ear.¹²⁰ An extreme example of contortion is the pair of angels on the bema wall of the Anargyroi church at Kastoria, whose legs are seen unequivocally from the rear, while above their prominent thighs they are seen in a three-quarters frontal view.¹²¹ But it is one of the late twelfth-century Cappadocian cycles that provides the best parallel for the posture of St. James at Perachorio: the figure of St. Peter in the Qaranleq Kilisse Ascension.¹²² In Cyprus the Lagoudera frescoes are not immune from the influence of this style and include, for example, a swiftly striding Moses among the normally static prophets in the dome.¹²³ But the Perachorio Ascension probably carries us as close as any of these to the lost monuments of this vigorous style in Byzantium itself, which to a greater or less extent the provincial survivors must all reflect.

The flowing pattern formed by the draperies in this southern Ascension panel and the cursive quality of the drawing which it shares with the rest of the Perachorio frescoes find close parallels in the fragments from Djurdjevi Stupovi (after 1168) in the National Museum in Belgrade. Their large scale and powerful drawing are not so easily appreciated from published photographs taken when they were still *in situ*,¹²⁴ but they have been recognized as a link between the Nerezi frescoes and the Monreale mosaics in their increasing elaboration of

¹¹⁸ See notes 104 and 105 *supra*. The arrangement of the Ascension in the bema of the Panagia church at Trikomo is similar on the south side but on the north, where a second angel replaces the Mother of God, the grouping is in one case reversed: two apostles behind St. Peter (their heads only visible in Soteriou, *op. cit.*, pl. 99a, where it is placed among monuments of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries despite its Comnenian features).

¹¹⁹ Octateuch: fol. 197v, Talbot Rice, *op. cit.*, pl. XXI; Paris Psalter, A. Grabar, *Byzantine Painting* (Geneva, 1953), p. 169.

¹²⁰ Demus, *op. cit.*, pl. 70. For the "baroque" phase of the Late Comnenian style: *ibid.*, p. 419f.; Kitzinger, *op. cit.*, p. 74ff.

¹²¹ Pelekanides, *op. cit.*, pl. 8 a and b.

¹²² G. de Jerphanion, *op. cit.*, pl. 96, 1. His posture is the reverse of the Perachorio St. James: frontal above the waist, his left leg makes a clockwise turn.

¹²³ Illustrated in Megaw, *op. cit.*, fig. 15.

¹²⁴ Millet, *La peinture du moyen âge en Yougoslavie*, I, pls. 22–29. Compare in particular the hanging end of the himation of Christ, billowing forward above the knee, in the Entry into Jerusalem (*ibid.*, pl. 28, 2) with that of St. James in the Perachorio Ascension, blown out above his right forearm (fig. 39).

strongly-lit drapery folds.¹²⁵ The character of a flowing over-all design that this cursive quality of drawing tended to produce at Perachorio is carried a step further at Monreale in such scenes as the Agony in the Garden.¹²⁶

The rhythmic composition of the southern group of spectators in the Perachorio Ascension is much enhanced by the interplay of color. The angel wears red, shading to dark red fold-lines and contours, over grey, shading to black, with white lighting in both. The red shoe of his right foot, which is enriched with pearls, steps over the lower border of the panel. St. Mark, to the right, wears dark red over green, much denuded in both cases. St. James wears earth green with green-brown fold shadows and black outlines over orange with red shading, and outlines, sleeve-stripe and *clavi* all in black; with blue-grey to white high lighting on both garments. St. Andrew wears pink with red folds and black outlines over a chiton of the colors of St. James's himation. On the faces of St. James and the apostles behind him are remains of what appears to be an over-all green underpaint, previously noted on that of the departing apostle in the *Metalepsis*.

The *Pentecost*, if it is correctly identified, occupied the whole of the west vault, where removal of the gypsum plaster revealed three small areas of original plaster with some remains of fresco. The best fragment is on the north side close to the west border (fig. 51). It preserves part of a nimbed head with the features of St. Peter and next him, to the right and at a somewhat higher level, the right shoulder and part of the nimbus of another figure, wearing a chiton with sleeve-stripe. The second fragment, lower down and extending to the middle of the panel, is entirely filled with hanging folds of drapery, including the segmental forms made where the oblique hem of a himation passes round the shin. On the assumption that both figures were seated, this would represent the parts of their garments that hang over the knee. The curved line rising behind the heads on the first fragment could be the back of the semicircular synthronon bench of the Pentecost iconography in miniatures. If these two apostles were reflected on the other side of the panel, there would be room for four only, forming a curving line with a space between the heads of the two middle apostles only slightly larger than that between the two on the left. On the assumption that the apostles were divided into two groups of six, one on each side of the vault, as in the similarly located Asinou Pentecost,¹²⁷ two more would have to be fitted in: one below St. Peter and the other in the corresponding position in the right-hand bottom corner. There is room for them and for the central semicircular step of the synthronon, but not for *phylai* and *glossai*. A tentative reconstruction is shown in figure f.

The test of this interpretation is in the third fragment, on the south side of the vault (fig. a, 2). This includes a section of the left border but is almost denuded of color. However a section of nimbus rim is preserved in a position

¹²⁵ Kitzinger, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, pl. 51.

¹²⁷ Harold (Buxton, Bishop of) Gibraltar and others, *op. cit.*, p. 334. The six apostles on each side are here set side by side in a straight line; there was in fact no room for the taller synthronon arrangement since the lower section of the vault on either side was assigned to another scene.

corresponding, within a few centimeters, to that of St. Peter on the north; and, in a position where a seated figure would require them, what appear to be a draped knee and shin. Below them some traces of angular forms do not fit the conception of a simple synthronon step, though its structure is not always simple.¹²⁸ The evidence of this third fragment is not conclusive, but if it is not part of a tripartite Pentecost with the *Hetoimasia* or some simplified centerpiece at the crown of the vault, then the fragments on the north cannot belong to a Pentecost either. The position of St. Peter, if St. Peter it be, is in itself a contrary indication, as he is usually one of the two middle apostles. But the appropriateness of a Pentecost for the position and the existence of at least one twelfth-century tripartite version with the two facing synthronon groups¹²⁹ seem to warrant this tentative interpretation of the fragments.

Of the *Dormition*, above the north door and occupying the full width of the dome arch, nothing was visible until, in 1954, the removal of gypsum plaster revealed substantial areas of the scene: the greater part of the central section, to its full height (fig. 42), and, beyond a short gap, the figure of the apostle on the extreme right (fig. 37). The condition of what remains is poor and from the heads even the paint of the sketch is lost; there is still enough, however, to give a good indication of the composition of the scene. The allocation of this position to the *Dormition* was perhaps envisaged when the church was being built, for no lunette window was formed above the door like that opposite. Even so, the space available below the *Anastasis* in the lunette is unusually elongated: 3.35 m. wide by only 1.33 m. high. Retention of the scale of the other scenes has brought the figures, when standing erect, almost to the full height of the panel, which has precluded the representation of the mourning women, who by the twelfth century commonly appear at the windows of buildings in an upper register.¹³⁰ Thus, fortuitously, the composition has been brought into line with the eleventh-century iconography represented by the *Daphni Dormition*, though at Perachorio the heads are nimbed. As to the presence or absence of the angels, there can be no certainty, though the loss to the right of Christ would suffice for His upraised arms holding the soul of His mother and also for either a single angel, or for two small ones side by side,¹³¹ but only if reduced much below the human scale, which would be inconsistent with the rest of the decoration. Arguing against a date late in the twelfth century is the absence of the *mandorla*, which was current in Cyprus, as elsewhere, by the nineties.¹³²

¹²⁸ Cf. that of the Hagioi Anargyroi Pentecost at Kastoria (Pelekanides, *op. cit.*, pl. 36).

¹²⁹ In the church of Cosmosoteira founded by the Sebastocrator Isaac Comnenus at Ferrai near the mouth of the Maritza. A fragment only is preserved, on the north side of the southwest barrel-vault: three seated figures from what must have been a group of six arranged in a semicircle.

¹³⁰ E.g. Asinou (Soteriou, *op. cit.*, pl. 79); but not at Bačkovó (A. Grabar, *La peinture religieuse en Bulgarie* [Paris 1928], pl. iv). Cf. L. Wratislaw-Mitrovic and N. Okunev, "La Dormition de la Sainte Vierge dans la peinture médiévale orthodoxe," *Byzantinoslavica*, III (1931), p. 141ff.

¹³¹ As in the miniature in the twelfth-century British Museum Gospel, Harley 1810 (Dalton, *op. cit.*, fig. 161). Kastoria provides an example of the suppression of the angels in the twelfth century when there was insufficient space for their inclusion on a reasonably large scale: Hagioi Anargyroi (Pelekanides, *op. cit.*, pl. 14 b). If there was a single angel, this would accord with Lagoudera, though there, unlike Perachorio, Christ is well off-center (Stylianou, *op. cit.*, pl. 153).

¹³² E.g. Lagoudera and Kurbinovo (R. Ljubinković in *Starinar*, XV [1940], p. 113, fig. 9; A. Nikolvoski, *The Frescoes of Kurbinovo* [Belgrade, 1961], fig. 55).

At the foot of the bed six of the apostles are grouped, three as full figures in the foreground: St. Paul, identifiable by the pointed outline left by the erosion of his beard, bent low as usual; a young apostle behind him slightly bowing and pointing with his left hand to the bed; while the third, erect and turning away with his left hand on his thigh, extends his right behind him as he leaves the scene (fig. 37). This curious posture, which has the effect of carrying the eye to the adjoining part of the decoration (the Virgin of the Deesis), a device already observed in the Ascension and elsewhere, recalls particularly the departing figure, probably Judas, on the extreme right of the Communion (fig. 22). Of the three other apostles, varying amounts are seen but little, even of the sketch, remains. Their heads formed an easy curve carrying the eye down to the bed.

Between Christ and the Virgin, St. John crouches over the bed. As is usual in this scene, he is portrayed as an old man, bald and bearded. The Virgin's right hand is raised and held open as she addresses her last prayer to Christ. In the lost area to the left, behind the head of the bed, there is space for five more apostles to make up a total of twelve. Patches of St. Peter's garments survive and his censer swings in front of the bed (fig. c, 12): the bowl seen in oblique view from above, the knopped stem and the foot in straight elevation. Above the head of the Virgin the nimbed head and the shoulders of one bishop have survived and, to the left, the edge of the nimbus and the shoulder of a second. There would scarcely have been room for a third further to the left and no more bishops are included in the group round the foot of the bed. The symmetrical position of the pair above the head of the bed confirms that only two were present. No less than four bishops were believed, through misinterpretation of a passage in the Pseudo-Dionysius, to have joined the miraculous gathering of the apostles to witness the Dormition,¹³³ but at first only two were included when bishops joined the apostles in representations of the scene. At Pskov, about 1156, and in later Dormitions, there are three,¹³⁴ another development dissociating Perachorio from Lagoudera, where also three bishops are present. The two at Perachorio are introduced somewhat naively, head and shoulders only, in frontal view above the top of the mattress, which, as in the Nativity on the opposite wall, curves up behind the head of the Mother of God to form a concentric contour round her nimbus.¹³⁵

The ground color was blue as usual, the mattress white with a blue band below the Virgin's head. Over a blue chiton she wears again the purple maphorion edged with a line of yellow; the shadow and contour lines are black and the lights blue. Christ wears blue over purple; a fragment of His brown hair and something of the green underpaint of the face have survived. The frame of the bed, which curves sharply up at the head, is yellow outlined in umber and

¹³³ Dionysius the Areopagite of Athens, Hierotheos his preceptor, Timotheos of Ephesus, and James the Brother of Our Lord of Jerusalem. Cf. John of Damascus, second homily on the Dormition, 18 (ed. P. Voulet [Paris, 1961], p. 173).

¹³⁴ Wratislaw-Mitrovic and Okunev, *op. cit.*, p. 138 and fig. 8; also in the Dormition in St. Sophia at Ochrid, commonly claimed for the eleventh century.

¹³⁵ Compare the mattress-head encircling the nimbus, but not concentrically, in the Martorana Dormition (Demus, *op. cit.*, pl. 56).

decorated with blue and red jewels alternating with groups of pearls. The valance is white and its design of large roundels is black and blue; the rinceau borders bear alternately blue and purple bunches of grapes. Along the bottom of the valance ran a similar border, of which only a fragment survives, recalling the rinceau border of the Asinou dormition valance. St. Paul wears a light red himation with brown fold-lines and white high lights over a white chiton with black sleeve-stripe and shadows in light brown touched with blue.

THE SINGLE FIGURES

The bishops in the apse and bema and the stylite on the south jamb of the iconostasis have already been described. Of the other single figures, the most important were those of the Mother of God and St. John the Baptist, forming a Deesis with the Pantocrator in the dome. Located in two panels on the west faces of the iconostasis jambs, they were also the largest figures, together with the archangels in the western recesses; for the lintel of the iconostasis, to the height of which the two panels extend, crosses the church considerably above the top of the zone of standing saints that rings the walls (fig. a, 1 and 4). On the north side about half the width of the figure of the Mother of God survived the cutting-back of the south face of the iconostasis jamb; the bottom of the figure is entirely lost (fig. 48). She wears a blue chiton and veil under a purple *maphorion*. The latter has a double band of yellow at the hem and a single yellow edging where it encircles the face. Further bands of yellow cross the garment above the hem and below the shoulder, where they are used to give a plastic quality to the folds which they cross. There is a diamond-shaped star on the shoulder and another on the breast below the neck. The face is entirely denuded. Nothing of the original figure of the Baptist has survived in the southern panel except a fragment including a section of the left border. Here appear the tips of the fingers of the right hand extending obliquely downwards, towards the border, seen against a section of pale brown garment. A second fragment at the bottom, including the left heel, belongs to the later repainting.¹³⁶

Of the twenty-two martyrs, who were given the highest location, in the soffits of the lateral dome arches, parts of only six survive in the western half of the south arch (fig. 50). They are represented in bust within medallions edged with white and black on a blue ground, on which their names are written horizontally in white. St. Eustratius at the crown of the arch, his head towards the center of the church, is represented on a purple ground and wears blue. The remainder, their heads towards the crown of the arch, appear on alternately black and

¹³⁶ To judge by the traces surviving at Daphni, the panels flanking the iconostasis were normally assigned to figures of the Virgin and Child on the north, and of Christ on the south. The intrusion of the lateral Deesis figures into these panels is another feature of the compression of the program which the small size of the church imposed. Yet they do suggest an early connection of the Deesis with the iconostasis, of which it was later, in icon form, to become the crowning feature (cf. A. Grabar, "Deux notes sur l'histoire de l'iconostase," *Srpska Akad. Nauka, Vizantološki Institut, Zbornik Radova* [Belgrade, 1961], p. 20). In the comparable Cypriot church of the Panagia at Trikomo, the Deesis with the Hetoimasis as a centerpiece occupies the east side of the angel zone below the Pantocrator (unpublished), but this has involved serious reduction in scale, a defect which the Perachorio master seems to have been at pains to avoid.

purple grounds. The name of the saint next to St. Eustratius is lost; he holds a white martyr's cross in his right hand and wears a purple chlamys with an ornate *tablion* rendered in yellow, white, and purple. The third is St. Menas, beardless, with brown hair and wearing cloak and armor; he is identified by the inscription: ὁ ἄγιος | Μηνᾶς || [Καλ]λικέλ(αδος).¹³⁷ He has a lance in his right hand and a buckler in his left: pale violet stippled with white and rimmed with the same jewelled border as is used on the bed in the Dormition. The fourth, St. Hermogenes, whose relics were venerated at Curium, holds a martyr's cross and has his left hand raised with the palm outwards. He is bearded and wears a pale purple chlamys with *tablion*, over a yellow tunic detailed in purple. The fifth, St. Eugegraphus, who is beardless and has brown hair, is similarly posed and dressed: purple over yellow. The sixth and last is almost completely eroded and has lost his name. The bottom of his medallion coincided with the spring of the arch and was level with the bottom of the lunette.

In the next zone, corresponding with the Baptism on the south and the Dormition on the north, there are scant remains of a single full-length figure on the side of the southwest pilaster that faces east, immediately below the surviving martyrs, in a panel measuring 1.25 m. by 0.34 m. Similar traces exist in the corresponding position on the north side. In the continuations of this zone on the lateral walls of the west bay are remains of further standing figures. The first on the south was seen full length wearing a purple himation over a grey chiton. Parts of these garments and the inscribed rotulus held in the left hand have survived in original paint, against a grey-green ground in this lower part of the panel. Only a few letters of the inscription are preserved, too few for identification, but the iconographic type employed is that of the prophets, normally placed below the Pantocrator, carrying texts proclaiming the glory of God or announcing his reign. Whatever is preserved of the figure opposite, on the north wall, belongs to the repainting; he also held an inscribed rotulus (fig. a, 1). Further west on this wall are traces of a companion figure, truncated by the intrusion of the lateral arch into this zone, and there is room for another in the space between it and the west wall. If these were repeated on the south wall, there would have been eight of these presumed prophets in all.

In the same zone, above the Deesis panels, are two smaller panels with traces of half-length figures of saints. Of that on the north, some features have survived: the chin of a beardless face, the hands both raised in front with the palms turned out and parts of a brown cloak over a grey robe. These would fit one of the Holy Women, for whom the position immediately above the Mother of God would be appropriate.

Meager fragments of eroded fresco on the back walls of the western lateral recesses indicate that these, the best positions in the west bay, were assigned to two relatively large archangels. They were full-length figures seen frontally, holding staff and globe and dressed in imperial robes. Much of what survives is a repainting of the second period, but here and there the original fresco,

¹³⁷ For this designation, see *Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae, Propylaeum ad Acta Sanctorum*, Nov. (ed. Delehaye, 1902), col. 470, line 20.

which was closely followed in the restoration, can be seen. The *loros* of the south archangel, worn over a dark red robe, is yellow with green and red jewels, outlined in red and bordered with pearls. That of the north archangel is dark green.

In the soffit of the northwest recess traces survive on its eastern side of a half-length figure of a saint belonging in the main to the repainting. He wears red over green and in this position, distinct from that of the martyrs, he might well be one of a pair of Holy Physicians, such as Cosmas and Damian.

Scattered fragments indicate that the rest of the lowest zone, corresponding with the zone of Fathers in the bema, was filled by individual standing figures of saints. The two that are identifiable are both of the second period, and of the original series there are only two appreciable fragments. The first of these fragments belongs to the southernmost saint on the west wall and includes the sketch for a white bearded head drawn in brown with the same verve, confidence, and economy of line that characterizes these outline sketches throughout the decoration. This figure wears a purple-brown habit and is doubtless one of a series of Holy Monks, of whom there is room for six on the west wall, corresponding to the six on the west wall of the Asinou church.

The second fragment includes the head of one of the series of Holy Women and is located in the northwest recess, on the east side. Over her head she wears a red mantle edged with white where it encircles the face, which is entirely denuded. At Asinou, St. Thecla is placed in the corresponding position in the southeast recess.

The two identifiable figures of the second period are on the south wall below the Presentation: St. Peter and St. Paul with a small bust of Christ in a segmental mandorla attached to the top border of the panel in the central position (fig. 36). The panel, which has a black ground, is 1.40 m. wide and considerably higher than the rest of the lower zone: 2.00 m. as against 1.65 m. The original figures in this position, of which nothing is visible, were doubtless of the standard height. They were replaced by the partially surviving larger figures of the two patrons, probably when those in the apse were screened from view by the introduction of the later form of high iconostasis.

The nimbus of St. Peter is in relief, raised at the edge to 0.015 m. above the general surface, and scribed with radial lines. He wears a blue-black chiton with traces of green overpaint; it has a design in white forming a border at the neck. His himation is a warm, light brown with red outlines. The feet are painted on a still later renewal of the plaster. Of the companion figure little has survived except his name, ὁ ἅγιος Παῦλ[ος], a section of the raised nimbus, a fragment of red-brown garment, and the corner of a book held open with both hands, which preserves the beginning of its text: ἀδελφοὶ τοῦ[. . .]. The mandorla is in bands of blue-grey darkening towards the center and edged at the rim with black, grey, and white lines. The head of Christ, who wears a purple himation, is entirely defaced (fig. 36).

THE PAINTED ORNAMENT

A rather varied repertory of ornament was applied toward two distinct purposes: first, the decoration of archivolts and kindred architectural forms and, second, the incidental ornamentation of objects and costumes appearing in the figural part of the decoration. The ornament applied toward the first of these purposes is a reliable index of the practice of those who decorated the church and of the time when they worked. Those motifs appearing exclusively in the scenes must be regarded with more caution, for insofar as these motifs could have been drawn from whatever form of iconographic guide was used, they could reflect an earlier taste. We will first consider four types of ornament which were applied to the architectural forms and which are particularly characteristic of the whole decoration since they were used also in the scenes. These are: ornament based on roundel designs, formalized acanthus ornament, the crenellated lozenge, and the vermiculated arabesque.

Of the roundel designs, the best example is that on the valance of the bed in the Dormition (fig. 42). Three large roundels fill the whole height, each divided into a central medallion and a surrounding vine rinceau bordered on both sides by studded bands. The spandrels are filled with budded stems, radiating from the intersections of the grid in the squares of which the roundels are inscribed. This design is the basis of the ornament used to fill the small space to the east of the ambry in the southeast recess, where the characteristic spandrel motif and a segment of the outer border are seen, but here a split-palmette motif repeated radially replaces the vine rinceau (fig. 44). The corresponding panel in the opposite recess was similarly decorated. This same section of the design is used, again in black on white, as a repeating border pattern on the south jamb of the iconostasis, on that part of it which would have been separated from St. Simeon by the icons themselves. Here the segmental sections of the studded outer border from a series of cusps (fig. 44).¹³⁸ The same design appears a second time in a figural context, again representing a fabric; the cover of the footstool on which the Blachernitissa stands in the apse (fig. 12). Here again only segments of the outer border appear. The design is used once more, to decorate the faces of the masonry mullions between the windows of the apse (fig. 23). Here the colors are reversed: the design is painted in blue-grey outlined with white on a blue-black ground. Again only a segment of the roundel is used but with both the studded edgings to the split-palmette border appearing, and also a small section of the central medallion filled with a rinceau.

This large roundel design clearly reproduces silk damasks of the type known from a few sumptuous examples, some of them woven in the imperial workshops. The eleventh-century shroud of St. Siviard in the cathedral treasury at Sens displays some striking similarities,¹³⁹ for its winged gryphon *rotellae* have the

¹³⁸ In this form, but with the inner studded border and a section of the central motif also appearing, it is used in another church in Cyprus with remains of twelfth-century frescoes, viz. on the apse archivolt of Hagia Mavra at Rizokarpaso (unpublished).

¹³⁹ Talbot Rice, *op. cit.*, pl. 131.

same split-palmette border with studded edgings and, in the spandrels, the same radiating budded stems, in this case issuing from an elaborate rosette. Such fabrics continued to be made in the twelfth century, but with less ambitious medallion designs, to judge by fresco representations in two dated monuments: Nerezi, on the altar cloth in the Communion of the Apostles,¹⁴⁰ and Lagoudera, on the back of the throne of the Mother of God in the apse.¹⁴¹ In both these cases the design is drawn in light colors on a dark ground, as on the mullions of the Perachorio windows.

The central ornament of the roundels of the Dormition valance, converging trefoils in the quarters of a cross, is a stock motif of the twelfth-century repertory, which is found both in manuscripts¹⁴² and in mural painting, notably at Nerezi.¹⁴³

A design of smaller roundels, likewise arranged on a grid basis is used once only in the Perachorio church, on the altar frontal in the Communion (fig. c, 1). Each roundel has three concentric circles, drawn in yellow on purple; the innermost contains a crosslet and there is a circle of white pearls between it and the middle circle. Where the outer circles would touch the junctions are masked by vertical and horizontal bands linking the middle circles. Small roundels appear once more as a border design on the collar-like section of the *loros* worn by one of the archangels in the dome (fig. 9). This border is drawn in purple on a yellow ground; the large stones at the centers of the roundels are overpainted in red and the pearls with which they are encircled in white.

The small roundel designs, like the large, are characteristic of twelfth-century frescoes. A fabric with small roundels comparable with the Perachorio altarcloth is represented on the valance of the bed in the Asinou Dormition.¹⁴⁴ For the second half of the twelfth century the Cappadocian frescoes offer numerous examples of analogous designs of small roundels enriched with

¹⁴⁰ Split-palmette border between the studded edgings and radiating budded stems in the spandrels (G. Millet, *La peinture du moyen âge en Yougoslavie*, I [Paris, 1954], pl. 15, 1); well illustrated in the facsimile by H. Brass (*Byzantinisch-russische Monumentalmalerei. Ausstellung der Faksimile-Kopien aus den Lehrsammlungen des Russischen Reichsinstituts für Kunstgeschichte, Leningrad, und des Kaiser-Friedrich-Museums Berlin* [Berlin, 1926], pp. 42, no. 17 and 52, no. 3). An analogous large roundel design is used on the linings of the cloaks worn by the warrior saints in the same church (O. Bihalji-Merin, *Byzantine Frescoes and Icons in Yugoslavia* [London, 1960], pl. 21); also at Kastoria, Hagioi Anargyroi, on the linings of the cloaks of St. Florus and St. Laurus (Pelekanides, *op. cit.*, pl. 25) and on the tunic of St. Demetrius (*ibid.*, pl. 21).

¹⁴¹ Vine rinceau between the studded borders, as on the Dormition valance at Perachorio, but with a different spandrel design (visible on the illustration of the Archangel in Megaw, *op. cit.*, fig. 14).

¹⁴² E.g. Paris gr. 550, fol. 4, in the spandrels (Omont, *Miniatures des manuscrits grecs*, pl. cvi and, for the date, p. 52).

¹⁴³ Zagorka Janc, *Ornamenti Fresaka iz Srbije i Makedonije* (Belgrade, 1961), no. 234. Also at Elmale Kilise in a pseudo-pendentive (G. de Jerphanion, *op. cit.*, pl. 117, 2) and the Taghar triconch (*ibid.*, II, p. 186, fig. 88 and p. 239, fig. 92), in the original decoration which has an affinity with the late Comnenian column-church cycles (*ibid.*, II, p. 204). Compare the amputated versions in the border of half-roundels in the church of the Forty Martyrs at Souveh, dated 1216–17 but with decoration modelled on that of the column-churches (*ibid.*, II, p. 123, fig. 79 and, on the date, p. 425).

¹⁴⁴ Soteriou, *op. cit.*, pl. 79. Here there are no connecting straps, and circles of pearls only in alternate roundels. In the same position in St. Nicholas near Kakopetria, in the cycle assigned to the eleventh century, there appears a simpler design of rather larger roundels bordered with pearls and containing converging trefoils forming a cross (unpublished).

pearls, in representations of textiles¹⁴⁵ and also in architectural decoration.¹⁴⁶ They are also common in certain of the Apulian crypt frescoes, which, though placed in the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century, are regarded as redecorations closely modelled on originals of the twelfth.¹⁴⁷ Lagoudera provides dated but unpublished examples: in the bands of pearl-edged roundels round the ends of the cushion in the *Hetoimasia* in the east medallion of the dome, and an all-over pattern of such roundels on the *encheirion* worn by St. Cyprian. Comparable also is the hem border of the *sticharion* worn by the angel in the Ascension; a row of pearl-edged roundels each containing a rosette.¹⁴⁸

In the same group of roundel designs must be included the border of half-roundels used on the archivolt of both the lateral dome arches (fig. 52). These are outlined in black and white on a yellow ground, which is overpainted in red with vermiculated arabesques. At the centers of the half-roundels are half-crosses enclosed in crenellated half-lozenges of three to five steps. Both borders are much defaced, but the area outside the crenellations is seen to be green in one case, and that within them blue in another. A border of similar half-roundels is used in the Asinou church, on the west face of the western transverse arch. It recurs in Cyprus on the apse arch of the undated church of the Panagia at Trikomo.¹⁴⁹ In both these instances the motif within the half-roundels is the same as at Perachorio. In Cappadocia a simpler form of this border is found, having in each half-roundel two converging trefoils in the quarters of a half cross.¹⁵⁰ This type of border clearly derives from a class of fabric design with small roundels on a vermiculated ground, which was reproduced somewhat indiscriminately as an architectural ornament as well as on costumes in the twelfth-century Cappadocian frescoes.¹⁵¹ The border of half-roundels bears the same relationship to that design as does the border of segments on the iconostasis jamb to the large roundel design.

The second class of ornament used both in architectural contexts and in the figural decoration is that based on the acanthus. It is used architecturally in the border framing the Pantocrator medallion (fig. 4) and on one of the archi-

¹⁴⁵ Elmale Kilisse: tablecloth in the Last Supper (G. de Jerphanion, *op. cit.*, pl. 118, 2), Daniel's chlamys (*ibid.*, pls. 116, 1 and 124, 1) and David's tunic (*ibid.*, pls. 118, 2 and 124, 2); Tchareqle Kilisse: mattress-cover in the Nativity (*ibid.*, pl. 127, 2).

¹⁴⁶ Tchareqle Kilisse: a soffit (*ibid.*, pl. 111, 2; compare the soffit, pl. 127, 1).

¹⁴⁷ Sta. Margherita at Mottola: on St. Lawrence's vestment (A. Medea, *Gli affreschi delle cripte eremitiche Pugliese*, II [Rome, 1939], fig. 157); San Vito Vecchio at Gravina: on the back of the throne of Christ in the apse (*ibid.*, II, figs. 14-15); on St. Basil's vestment (*ibid.*, II, fig. 18 and, on the date, I, p. 62); San Biaggio at San Vito dei Normanni, on the vestment of St. Stephen (*ibid.*, II, fig. 44 and, on the date, I, pp. 99-101).

¹⁴⁸ Stylianou, *op. cit.*, pl. 151.

¹⁴⁹ Barely visible in Soteriou, *op. cit.*, pl. 99a. The frescoes of this church are undistinguished but they preserve many twelfth-century characteristics (see notes 118 and 136 *supra*).

¹⁵⁰ Church of the Forty Martyrs at Souveh (G. de Jerphanion, *op. cit.*, II, p. 123, fig. 79). For the date, see note 143 *supra*.

¹⁵¹ E.g. on an irregular soffit at Tchareqle Kilisse, where some of the roundels are cut by the edge of the panel into semicircles (*ibid.*, pl. 127, 1). Also at Elmale Kilisse, on the archivolt of the southwest compartment (*ibid.*, pl. 119, 1-2) and round the base of the drum (*ibid.*, pls. 118, 3 and 120, 1); in both cases varying fractions are cut by the borders. The type of textile design from which this architectural decoration derives appears on the *sticharion* worn by Phlogothel in the same church (*ibid.*, pl. 121, 4). For half-roundel borders on architectural ceramics, see E. Coche de la Ferté in *Cahiers archéologiques*, IX (1957), p. 208 and fig. 13, d.

volts (fig. 54); in figural subjects, on the foot of the basin in the Nativity (fig. 33) and on the base and capital of St. Simeon's column (fig. 44). The use of stylized acanthus leaves as a cornice decoration goes back at least to the fifth century, but this motif was no less popular in the twelfth,¹⁵² when in painted decoration the type used at Perachorio was widely employed both in manuscripts, such as the Paris Homilies of James Kokkinobaphos,¹⁵³ and in mural painting. In Cyprus the Enkleistra of St. Neophytus provides examples with the dot high lights that are characteristic of Perachorio, in both the 1183 and the 1196 series,¹⁵⁴ and at Lagoudera the same type of acanthus ornament is found on the Stylites' capitals and on the *thokos* before which the Arakiotissa stands.¹⁵⁵ In the mid-twelfth century the acanthus cornice appears in the Mirozh Cathedral in Pskov on the buildings in the background of the Dormition,¹⁵⁶ and about the same time at Bačkov in Bulgaria it was applied to the archivolt framing the same scene.¹⁵⁷ At Nerezi¹⁵⁸ and in St. Nicholas Kasnitzi at Kastoria¹⁵⁹ a fringe of similar acanthus leaves appears on the armor of the Holy Warriors.

The same elements are used in the bold foliate scroll design on the archivolt of the east dome arch (fig. 54). Conceived on a much larger scale, 0.30 m. wide compared with the 0.06 m. of the Pantocrator frame, it represents the application to floral ornament of the strongly cursive drawing seen in much of the figural decoration. The scroll motifs, which represent highly stylized wind-blown acanthus leaves, are alternately grey and red within black outlines, the foliage filling the spandrels is yellow shaded with purple, and the dot high lights white in both cases; nearly all of the latter have disappeared from the grey leaves.

The border with alternately wind-blown and erect acanthus leaves, of which the Perachorio border is an elaboration, appeared early in manuscripts: an ancestor in the Paris Psalter¹⁶⁰ may be set beside the first examples cited by Miss Frantz,¹⁶¹ who noted the prevalence of the motif in twelfth-century carved ornament at Torcello and Venice. Though the ornament is rare in monumental painting, there are examples from the eleventh-century frescoes in St. Sophia at Ochrid,¹⁶² and a retrospective one in mosaic in the Kariye Djami.¹⁶³ The

¹⁵² Used, for example, in the church of the Pantocrator (Zeyrek Djami) at Istanbul, on the cornice at the crown of the marble revetment.

¹⁵³ On the plinth on which the church stands in the frontispiece (Grabar, *op. cit.*, p. 181) and as a cornice on buildings: fol. 29^v (Omont, *Miniatures des homélies*, pl. iv), fol. 56 (*ibid.*, pl. vii), fol. 63^v (*ibid.*, pl. viii) and fol. 92^v (*ibid.*, pl. xii).

¹⁵⁴ In Theodore Apeudes' decoration of 1183 in the cell, on the uprights of the throne of Christ in the Deesis (Soteriou, pl. 73a); in the Crucifixion of 1196 in the nave, as a cornice on the wall (*ibid.*, pl. 69b).

¹⁵⁵ Soteriou, "Η Θεοτόκος ἡ Ἀρακιώτισσα τῆς Κύπρου," *Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἐφημερίς* (1953-54), p. 88, pl. 1.

¹⁵⁶ *Geschichte der russ. Kunst*, II (Dresden, 1958), p. 249, figs. 241-242.

¹⁵⁷ A. Grabar, *La peinture religieuse en Bulgarie* (Paris, 1928), pl. iv.

¹⁵⁸ Millet, *Peinture du moyen âge en Yougoslavie*, I, pl. 20, 3.

¹⁵⁹ Pelekanides, *op. cit.*, pl. 55a.

¹⁶⁰ Paris gr. 139, fol. 2 (Omont, *Miniatures des plus anciens manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale* [Paris, 1929], pl. II).

¹⁶¹ *Art Bulletin*, XVI (1934), p. 64.

¹⁶² As a frieze or cornice on the background buildings (*Yugoslavia: Mediaeval Frescoes* [New York, UNESCO World Art Series, 1955], pls. III, VI and VII).

¹⁶³ Outer narthex, as a border dividing the panels in the vault of the bay to the south of the entrance bay.

Perachorio border is also close in detail, if not in design, to a more naturalistic class of freely-ranging acanthus scrolls used as space-fillers throughout the twelfth century, to judge by examples at Asinou¹⁶⁴ and in the Cappadocian column-churches.¹⁶⁵

The third type of ornament common to both the architectural and the figural decoration is that based on the motif variously named the crenellated lozenge or the stepped cross. In bisected form this motif has already been noted in an architectural context in the half-roundel border on the lateral dome archivolt. In the figural decoration, ornament based on this motif occurs frequently. It is used as a border: on the rim of the Pantocrator's nimbus (fig. c, 2) and on the cover of his book (fig. 4); and as a diaper: on the arms of the Pantocrator's nimbus cross (fig. c, 2) and of that of Christ in the Baptism (fig. c, 3), on the covers of some of the books held by the Fathers in the apse and bema (fig. c, 5), and on the *rhypidia* held by the angel-deacons in the Communion (fig. c, 8).

The border of crenellated lozenges is found in every period of Byzantine art and in a variety of materials. Its application in the Perachorio frescoes, for example on the Pantocrator's nimbus rim, suggests that it reached the painters' repertory from cloisonné enamel.¹⁶⁶ The incidence of this type of ornament in mural decoration suggests that it enjoyed a special vogue in the twelfth century, particularly towards its close. It has not been observed in the Asinou frescoes, but at Lagoudera it occurs as a diaper on book covers,¹⁶⁷ on the *loros* of an archangel,¹⁶⁸ and on the legs of the throne of the Mother of God in the apse. A somewhat simpler version of the diaper decorating the arms of the Perachorio nimbus crosses serves the same function in the cycle of 1196 at St. Neophytus.¹⁶⁹ As a border decoration it is elaborated in the Bačkovó monastery,¹⁷⁰ and reduced to a simpler form of crosses and half-crosses at Mottola in Apulia.¹⁷¹ This type of border is found in another Apulian fresco of the twelfth century, the *Cripta Tota* at Gravina, where it performs precisely the same function as at Perachorio, that is, the ornamentation of a nimbus rim.¹⁷²

¹⁶⁴ In the spandrels over the arches of the lateral recesses of the west bay, with dot high lights.

¹⁶⁵ Qaranleq Kilisse, in the pendentive panels of the southeast compartment (G. de Jerphanion, *op. cit.*, pl. 101, 2); Elmale Kilisse, in the pendentive panels of the northwest compartment (*ibid.*, pls. 116, 1 and 117, 3).

¹⁶⁶ Compare the border of the enamel and gold icon of the Archangel Michael in the Treasury of St. Mark's in Venice, on which the nimbus rim itself is very similarly ornamented (A. Pasini, *Il Tesoro di San Marco* [Venice, 1886], pl. iv; Grabar, *op. cit.*, p. 186; Talbot Rice, *op. cit.*, p. 322 and pl. xv). Generally assigned to the eleventh century.

¹⁶⁷ The book in the Hetoimasia in the Dome and that held by St. Hermolaus (Stylianou, *op. cit.*, pl. 157, 1).

¹⁶⁸ Archangel in the medallion to the left of the Hetoimasia.

¹⁶⁹ On the nimbus of Christ in the Agony in the Garden (Soteriou, *op. cit.*, pl. 70b) and in the scene of Christ before Pilate (*ibid.*, pl. 68a).

¹⁷⁰ On the apse archivolt, enlarged in scale (P. Schweinfurth, *Byzantinische Form*, pl. 70b).

¹⁷¹ Border at the top of the Deesis in the apse (A. Medea, *op. cit.*, II, fig. 155 and, for the date, I p. 226).

¹⁷² On the nimbus of the much-defaced figure of Christ between angels in the altar recess, where, as at Perachorio, a diaper based on the rim border fills the arms of the nimbus cross (*ibid.*, II, fig. 23 and, for the date, I, p. 66). The Christ in Majesty in a second crypt at Gravina (San Vito Vecchio) which has a nimbus with identical decoration on the rim and cross, is regarded by Miss Medea as a work of about 1300 reproducing an earlier decoration (*ibid.*, II, fig. 16 and, for the date, I, p. 62).

The last type of ornament applied to both the architectural and the figural decoration is that minutely elaborated type of arabesque which has aptly been termed "vermiculation." In an architectural context its only appearance at Perachorio is in the half-roundel border used on the lateral dome archivolts, where it filled the spandrels (fig. 52). Elsewhere it is used on the cuff of the Pantocrator's chiton (fig. 4), on some of the cuffs of the *sticharia* worn by the Fathers (fig. c, 7), and on some of their *encheiria* (fig. c, 10).

This type of decoration was long in favor. In miniatures it appears on imperial costume already in the eleventh century.¹⁷³ In monumental painting it was increasingly in favor in the twelfth, until, in its latter decades, it was used in fresco almost *ad nauseam*. It is not a feature of the Asinou decoration of 1106. In the middle of the century it was used with restraint in the Sicilian mosaics, both on costume and on metal objects,¹⁷⁴ and, later, with equal moderation at Monreale,¹⁷⁵ a moderation possibly due to the cursive character of this decoration, which is alien to mosaic technique. A key example in fresco painting is the decoration of the *loros* worn by the Mother of God in the vault lunette above the main door of Sant'Angelo in Formis, which is now known to have been painted following a reconstruction of the narthex, not earlier than the second half of the twelfth century.¹⁷⁶ Vermiculation is very characteristic of the Cappadocian column-church frescoes, where it is found not only representing the decoration of costume and objects in the scenes,¹⁷⁷ and as a background in the decoration of architectural elements of the churches,¹⁷⁸ but also as an all-over decoration for soffits and spandrels.¹⁷⁹ The application of all-over vermiculation to spandrels and kindred forms at Lagoudera¹⁸⁰ and Kurbi-

¹⁷³ On the robes of Nicephorus Botaniates, his Empress, high officers, and attendant angel in the Paris Homilies of St. John Chrysostom, Bibl. Nat., Coislin 79, fol. 1 (Omout, *op. cit.*, pl. LXII), fol. 2 (*ibid.*, pl. LXIII) and fol. 2^v (*ibid.*, pl. LXIV; Grabar, *op. cit.*, p. 179; Talbot Rice, *op. cit.*, pl. XXII). Compare the robes of Alexius I in Vatican gr. 606 (Diehl, *Manuel d'art byzantin* [Paris, 1925-26], p. 405, fig. 191). For a useful collection and discussion of Byzantine and western examples, see M.-M. Gauthier, "Les décors vermiculés dans les émaux champlevés limousins et méridionaux," *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, I (1958), p. 349 ff.

¹⁷⁴ Cefalù: on the *encheiria* of some of the Fathers (Demus, *op. cit.*, pl. 7A); Cappella Palatina: on the basin in the Nativity (*ibid.*, pl. 17) and on that in the Baptism of St. Paul (*ibid.*, pl. 40B), on the *encheiria* of the Fathers (*ibid.*, pls. 23B, 33, 36, and 38) and on the *thorakion* of one of the Holy Women (*ibid.*, pl. 24A).

¹⁷⁵ On the seat of the throne of the Panachrantos (*ibid.*, pl. 63), on the valance of the bed in the Healing of Jairus' Daughter (*ibid.*, pl. 86B), and on the throne of the Mother of God in the scene of the dedication of the church (*ibid.*, pl. 76B).

¹⁷⁶ P. Muratoff, *La peinture byzantine* (Paris, 1928), pl. LXXIX; Kitzinger, *The Mosaics of Monreale* (Palermo, 1960), fig. 41. On the discovery beneath this fresco of an earlier one attributable to the original decoration of ca. 1086, see M. Bonicatti, "Considerazioni su alcuni affreschi medioevali della Campania," *Bolletino d'arte*, 43 (1958), pp. 18-19. Cf. Kitzinger, *op. cit.*, p. 78 and note 121.

¹⁷⁷ E.g. Qaranleq Kilisse, cuff of Christ's chiton in the dome of the east arm (G. de Jerphanion, *op. cit.*, pl. 105, 4 and I, p. 382 for a discussion of this class of costume embroidery).

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, pls. 118, 3; 119, 1-2; 120, 1; 121, 1; and 125, 1 (Elmale Kilisse); pl. 127, 1 (Tchareqle Kilisse); pl. 98, 1 and I, p. 393, fig. 40 (Qaranleq Kilisse).

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, I, p. 497, fig. 52, pls. 97, 1; 99, 3; 100, 2; 102, 2; 103, 2; and 104, 1 (Qaranleq Kilisse); pl. 111, 5 (Tchareqle Kilisse).

¹⁸⁰ In the spandrels on the lateral walls at the extreme west end below the Nativity (visible, bottom right, in Stylianou, *op. cit.*, pl. 147) and the Anastasis (illustrated in Megaw, *op. cit.*, fig. 10). Identical spandrels at the extreme east of the bema walls of the church of Christ Antiphonetes, a church linked to Lagoudera also by its slightly pointed arches.

novo¹⁸¹ suggests that the maximum use of this type of ornament occurred towards the close of the twelfth century. In this respect Perachorio is as close to Nerezi, where in 1168 vermiculation is little used,¹⁸² as it is to the monuments of the nineties.

These four classes of ornament used both in architectural contexts and in the scenes constitute together the larger part of all the painted ornament in the church. Those few that are used in architectural contexts alone are even better evidence for the date of the decoration, since they represent the stock-in-trade of those who carried out the work uncontaminated by connections with the figural decoration which could have been derivative and retrospective. The most prominent is also the most commonplace: the folded ribbon pattern on the archivolt of the conch of the apse (figs. 2 and 56). It is painted on a black ground in tones of off-white on the lighted side of the folds, in red and grey on the sides in shade. As a border pattern, particularly for arches, the folded ribbon was popular in fresco decoration from the early eleventh century well into the thirteenth, but it is perhaps significant that a number of churches where it was used exclusively in the apse archivolt, as at Perachorio, are dated in, or assignable to, the latter part of the twelfth century, among them that at Kurbinovo.¹⁸³

All the archivolt borders have now been described with the exception of that on the west dome arch, which is virtually unornamented. It seems to have been a uniform panel of black with an over-all stippling of thin white lines and curls. Can this be a reminder of "the outer darkness" and "the worm that sleepeth not," which the Pantocrator at the Second Coming will apportion to the damned?

No parallels for the Perachorio archivolt designs have been cited from Lagoudera. This is not to be taken as evidence in itself that they were not characteristic of the late twelfth century in Cyprus, for at Lagoudera the four dome archivolts have no separate decoration, but have been included in the pendentive panels.¹⁸⁴ Since the cell of St. Neophytus (1183) and the adjoining chapel (1196) have had to conform with the rock surfaces, there are few "architectural" forms that called for ornamentation in their decoration. Consequently, here too there is little to compare with the Perachorio repertory. Of the two ornamental borders back to back above the iconostasis of the

¹⁸¹ E.g. filling the whole of the panel to the right of the apse in which the figure of St. Euplus is inset (Lazarev, *op. cit.*, fig. 35). The repetition of this spandrel-filling at Kastoria in Hagioi Anargyroi (Pelekanides, *op. cit.*, pls. 11a, 22a and b) and the widespread use of the vermiculated arabesque in the Panagia Mavriotissa (*ibid.*, pls. 75b and 83a and b) support the dating of the frescoes of these churches around 1180 and 1200 respectively (Demus, "Die Entstehung des Paläologenstils," *op. cit.*, pp. 25-26; Lazarev, *op. cit.*, pp. 129 and 132).

¹⁸² A few panels rather broadly treated; e.g. Zagorka Janc, *op. cit.*, no 394.

¹⁸³ Ljubinković in *Starinar*, XV (1940), p. 107, fig. 6; Lazarev, *op. cit.*, fig. 34; Zagorka Janc, *op. cit.*, p. 19, fig. 6; A. Nikolovski, *op. cit.*, figs. 6 and 7. Also Elmale Kilisse (G. de Jerphanion, *op. cit.*, pls. 112, 1 and 114, 2), Kastoria, Panagia Mavriotissa (Pelekanides, *op. cit.*, pl. 63) and Gravina, San Vito Vecchio (A. Medea, *op. cit.*, II, fig. 15 and, for the date, I, p. 62: ca. 1300, but repeating an earlier scheme).

¹⁸⁴ Stylianou, *op. cit.*, pls. 145 and 146. Similarly the apse archivolt has been incorporated in the decoration of the small face of wall above it (*ibid.*, pl. 143, 1).

chapel, the rinceau on the bema side, boldly conceived and delicately detailed, has something in common with the Perachorio foliate scroll.¹⁸⁵

The only other architectural decorations in fresco that have survived in the Perachorio church are those in the soffits of the bema recesses, in the apse windows and the scant remains of dadoes at the foot of the walls. The south recess soffit (fig. 53) is divided into two rows of seven rectangles each subdivided diagonally and enriched with converging trefoils roughly drawn in the resulting triangles; all in dark umber on a white ground variegated with vertical stripes of ochre and green. The north recess soffit is similar (fig. 55) but with only a single row of four rectangles, more complex foliate filling in some of the triangles, and vertical stripes of green, yellow, red, and blue-grey. The jambs and soffits of the apse windows are decorated in a single panel conforming with the scheme of the north recess soffit, seven rectangles in the south light and eight in each of the others. The trefoils in the triangles conform with those in the south recess soffit; the vertical stripes, about 0.02 m. wide, are here yellow, red, and blue-grey. The backs of the ambries in the recesses are similarly decorated (figs. 43-44).

This rather elementary type of decoration recurs, but with more refinement, in similar situations at Lagoudera. Within the ambry in the northeast recess there is a panel with two rows of squares one yellow and the other white; on the wall of this recess, to the west of the ambry, there is a second such panel. There are two more with a single vertical row of squares, one half yellow and the other green, on the east wall on either side of the apse. The same ornamentation is applied to the jambs and soffits of alternate windows in the dome; in these latter cases only, the white ground shows between the vertical bands of green and yellow. The remainder of the Lagoudera dome windows have a pattern closer to that employed in the windows of the Asinou church, where the Perachorio treatment is not in evidence.¹⁸⁶ The bands of alternating colors common to both the Perachorio and the Lagoudera versions of the design are also a feature of the Nerezi church.¹⁸⁷ They suggest that variegated warps were a characteristic of the fabrics from which the designs were copied. They recur in the painted ornament of the Cappadocian churches assigned to the latter part of the twelfth century,¹⁸⁸ where elements of the Perachorio soffit design are also used.¹⁸⁹ That this type of ornament was a regular element in the Byzantine repertory in use in the second half of the twelfth century is sug-

¹⁸⁵ Unpublished. The border back to back with it (Soteriou, *op. cit.*, pl. 68a and, for the plan, fig. 45), a large but delicate floral scroll, is one of the few links in Cyprus with the type of floral ornament employed in the Sicilian mosaics. Compare the cornice below the Pantocrator at Cefalù (Demus, *Mosaics of Norman Sicily*, pls. 2 and 3) and the spandrels between the medallions on the arches of the central square of the Cappella Palatina (*ibid.*, pl. 37).

¹⁸⁶ The panels of the Asinou windows, like the dado at the base of the apse wall, are divided by zigzag bands and the resulting triangles are filled with floral motifs.

¹⁸⁷ Zagorka Janc, *op. cit.*, nos. 276 (left half yellow, right half green), 288 (upper half green, lower half yellow), 289 (upper half pink, lower half green) and 394 (upper half yellow, lower half green).

¹⁸⁸ E.g. along a soffit rinceau at Qaranleq Kilisse (G. de Jerphanion, *op. cit.*, pls. 101, 2 and 102, 1).

¹⁸⁹ A single square subdivided diagonally with identical trefoils in the resulting triangles, on the apse arch of Qaranleq Kilisse (*ibid.*, I, p. 393, fig. 40 and pl. 98). The same trefoil motif is used to fill the triangular areas of ground in the folded ribbon borders at both Elmale Kilisse (*ibid.*, pl. 112, 1) and Kurbinovo (see note 183 *supra*).

gested by its use on window jambs in the church of St. George at Old Ladoga (ca. 1167), the decoration of which has been classed among "les plus grécophiles de la peinture russe du XII^e siècle."¹⁹⁰

The painted dado at the foot of the wall, about 0.20 m. high, survives at only two points: in the apse where it imitates marble revetments, and on the iconostasis jamb below St. Simeon Stylites, where it simulates a fabric hanging. The former represented small panels, alternately of yellow, green, and purple marble 0.29 m. wide, each containing a half disc of variegated marble (fig. d, 1). The panels were separated by upright bands 0.08 m. wide of the same alternating colors. All these elements were separated from each other and from the red border below the Fathers of the Church by narrow strips, 0.01 to 0.015 m. wide, representing white marble which met at mitred joints. This low dado bears little resemblance to the more pretentious imitations of marble revetments with inserted discs which Theodore Apseudes used in 1183 in the cell of St. Neophytus, which skirt the walls of Lagoudera, and which reappear on the tombs in the Anastasis of the same church.¹⁹¹ On the other hand, it is closer to these than to the dado of the Asinou apse, which does not imitate marble at all, but in a more painterly manner repeats the zigzag and flower design used in the windows.¹⁹²

The second section of dado, beneath St. Simeon's column, represents a fabric hanging, supported at intervals on nails (fig. d, 2). The sections of the hanging corresponding with these intervals are subdivided diagonally by angle forms roughly drawn in brown, akin to the converging trefoils of the soffit designs; they have vertical stripes of red at the center, of greenish brown below the nail positions. The hanging which this dado represents was a humble example of the type of fabric on which the soffit designs were based.

There remain to be considered those types of ornamentation which are used only in the figural part of the decoration. Distinctive though they are, the bands of cufesque pattern woven across the mattress cover in the Nativity (fig. c, 6) and the band suggestive of a cufic inscription on the paten in the Communion (fig. 23) are not very informative; for the vogue for cufesque decoration in Byzantine art was long-lived and widespread.¹⁹³ It can at least be said, on the basis of three dated monuments, that in Cyprus this type of decoration was current throughout the twelfth century among the painters who worked in the island. At Asinou experimental cleaning of the southern half of the Dormition has revealed on the wall of the house of the mourning women a

¹⁹⁰ V. N. Lazarev, *Freski Staroi Ladogi* (Moscow, 1960), p. 99 and pl. 74. Here the individual squares of the design are divided by a narrow interlacing border and a different motif fills the triangles.

¹⁹¹ Stylianou, *op. cit.*, pl. 150.

¹⁹² See note 186 *supra*.

¹⁹³ Cf. G. A. Soteriou, "Ἀραβικαὶ διακοσμήσεις εἰς τὰ μνημεῖα τῆς Ἑλλάδος," Πρακτικά τῆς Χριστιανικῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας (1933-34), pp. 57-95. Dr. George C. Miles, who published the fragments of an Arabic inscription in Athens which recorded the foundation of a mosque (*Hesperia*, 25 [1956], pp. 329-344), is preparing a corpus of cufesque ornament in Greek monuments (*Year Book of the American Philosophical Society*, 1958, pp. 486-490). Some western as well as eastern examples have been collected by S. D. T. Spittle ("Cufic Lettering in Christian art," *Archaeological Journal*, CXI, pp. 138-152), including the Perachorio paten (*ibid.*, p. 141f. and fig. 12).

design with cufesque elements.¹⁹⁴ More akin to that on the Perachorio mattress cover is an example at Lagoudera: the cloth with cufesque bands, closely related to the Fatimite textiles whence they derive, which covers the cushion on the throne of the Mother of God in the apse. The ornamentation of the Perachorio paten may be compared with that on a pitcher in the cycle of 1196 at St. Neophytus, in the scene of Christ before Pilate.¹⁹⁵ Elsewhere there is some indication that ornament of this character became more prevalent as the twelfth century advanced. For example, it is much in evidence in the Cappadocian column-churches, now placed in the latter part of the century,¹⁹⁶ and in decorations which are iconographically dependent on them.¹⁹⁷ In Apulia it is employed in what is regarded as a fourteenth-century renovation of a decoration of the twelfth.¹⁹⁸ In view of the essentially Byzantine character of the mosaics of Norman Sicily, the occasional appearance there of cufesque ornament¹⁹⁹ is better regarded, not as evidence of local Islamic influences, but rather as confirmation of the popularity of this type of decoration among Byzantine craftsmen in the later Comnenian period.²⁰⁰ Its appearance in the Perachorio church is another factor permitting the assignment of its decoration to that period.

Two types of costume ornament found in the Perachorio frescoes have already been discussed: the border of roundels forming part of the *loros* of an angel in the dome and the vermiculated arabesques used on the cuffs of the Pantocrator and of some of the Fathers, as well as on the *encheiria* of some of the latter. With this second type should be classed the rinceau on the Pantocrator's *clavus* (fig. c, 11), though in its regularity this tightly drawn border is as close to the simple form of rinceau used in the early twelfth century, for example in the border of the valance of the Asinou Dormition,²⁰¹ as it is to the excessive vermiculation that had superseded it by the end of the century.

¹⁹⁴ A section of this ornament appears on the detail of the Asinou Dormition illustrated in Megaw, *op. cit.*, fig. 3.

¹⁹⁵ Barely visible in Soteriou, *op. cit.*, pl. 68a. Compare the cufesque devices on the greaves of the soldiers in the adjoining scene of the Betrayal.

¹⁹⁶ Examples at Qaranleq Kilisse listed by G. de Jerphanion, *op. cit.*, I, p. 426; at Tchareqle Kilisse, *ibid.*, p. 468.

¹⁹⁷ Qarabach Kilisse (on the relationship to the column-churches, *ibid.*, II, p. 421): on the buckler and greaves of St. Demetrius (*ibid.*, p. 332, fig. 103) and St. Mercurius (*ibid.*, p. 360, fig. 105, below); Communion of the Apostles, on one of the chancel panels (*ibid.*, p. 360, fig. 105 above and pl. 197, 2); Nativity, on the head-scarves of the women in the Bathing of the Child (*ibid.*, pls. 198, 1 and 203); Crucifixion, on the centurion's buckler (*ibid.*, pl. 199, 1); church of the Forty Martyrs near Souveh (on its dependence on the column-churches, *ibid.*, II, p. 425): on the buckler of St. Orestes (*ibid.*, II, p. 174, fig. 84); on ornaments imitating towels with cufesque and other woven designs (*ibid.*, pl. 161, 3 and II, p. 174, fig. 84).

¹⁹⁸ S. Margherita at Mottola on the archivolts of the arcade in which stand St. Lawrence and other saints (A. Medea, *op. cit.*, II, fig. 157 and, on the date, I, p. 226).

¹⁹⁹ Cefalù: buckler of St. George (Demus, *op. cit.*, pl. 7A); Cappella Palatina: buckler of one of the soldiers in the scene of St. Paul in the dungeon (*ibid.*, pl. 41B); Monreale: buckler of one of the soldiers in the scene of the Marys at the Sepulchre (*ibid.*, pl. 72).

²⁰⁰ In the West the incidence of cufesque ornament reached its peak only in the thirteenth century (K. Erdmann, "Arabische Schriftzeichen als Ornamente in der abendländischen Kunst des Mittelalters," *Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Geistes- und sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse* [1953], no. 9, pp. 467-513, especially table on p. 504).

²⁰¹ Soteriou, *op. cit.*, pl. 79.

Rinceau borders are also used on some of the *encheiria* worn by the Perachorio Fathers (fig. c, 9).

Another type of ornament found on the costumes is based on a double-line reticulation with the resulting lozenges or squares filled by a pair of lily-trefoils, the one erect and the other pendent below it. This is used on the hem of the *sticharion* of the angel next to the Mother of God in the dome on the south side (fig. 3) and on the *encheiria* of some of the Fathers (fig. c, 9). It recurs at Lagoudera, for example on the *epimanikia* of St. Hermolaus.²⁰² Another reticulated design is used on the shoulder-piece or collar of the *divitission* worn by one of the angels in the dome (fig. 6). This type of reticulation is found in its simplest form in the Nerezi Lamentation, on the shroud of Christ,²⁰³ and rather differently elaborated on the Mandylion at Spas Nereditzy.²⁰⁴

While some of these patterns may represent embroidery, it can hardly be doubted that those which cross the mattress cover in the Nativity are conceived as woven into the fabric. Like the two cufesque bands (fig. c, 6), the third, which is a running border of palmettes within heart-shaped figures, alternately upright and pendant, is employed in the twelfth-century repertory.²⁰⁵

Finally, the standard *loros* ornament, jewelled bands on which colored stones are interspersed with groups of pearls, is used in addition on the frame of the bed in the Dormition (fig. 42), on some of the books held by the Fathers, and on the rim of a martyr's buckler. In other Cyprus churches it appears in its normal place both early and late in the twelfth century.²⁰⁶

It may be concluded that there is nothing in this category of ornament found exclusively in the figural decoration that is alien to the date, well advanced in the twelfth century, that is indicated by the rest of the painted ornament. There are no anachronistic elements to suggest that any scene or figure was closely copied from a model of earlier date. Viewed as a whole, the ornament, despite its considerable variety has an integrity of style enhanced by a uniform competence in execution: more meticulous than that of the Asinou church, but lacking the almost miniaturist quality of the Lagoudera ornament.

CONCLUSIONS

It remains to compare the chronological indications of this analysis of the painted ornament with the evidence of the pictorial content of the Perachorio frescoes. While no definitive study of their iconography and style has been attempted, in the course of the accounts of the individual scenes various comparisons have been made with such dated Cypriot cycles as have survived; with the early twelfth-century frescoes at Asinou, on the one hand, and with

²⁰² Stylianou, *op. cit.*, pl. 157, 1. Compare the more elaborate form of this ornament on the *loros* of the Mother of God in the vault lunette over the entrance to Sant' Angelo in Formis (Muratoff, *op. cit.*, pl. LXXIX), now datable to the late twelfth century (see note 176 *supra*), and the simple form on the hem of Raphael's *divitission* at Monreale (Demus, *op. cit.*, pl. 62).

²⁰³ *Yugoslavia: Mediaeval Frescoes*, *op. cit.*, pl. x; Bihalji-Merin, *op. cit.*, pl. 26.

²⁰⁴ Sychev and Miasoedov, *op. cit.*, pl. XIX, 2.

²⁰⁵ E.g. Paris Coislin 239, fol. 46^v (Omont, *op. cit.*, pl. CXVI, 5).

²⁰⁶ Asinou, Saints Constantine and Helen (Soteriou, *op. cit.*, pl. 78, b); Lagoudera, Archangels in the dome.

those painted in its last two decades in the Enkleistra of St. Neophytus and at Lagoudera on the other, as well as with their contemporaries elsewhere. These comparisons revealed that the Perachorio frescoes have affinities both with the early and with the late twelfth-century series, indicating that they were painted at some intermediate stage. A more precise dating will emerge from a brief review of the principle criteria.

In favor of a relatively early date is the retention of the apocalyptic figures in the pendentives, where the evangelists would be expected in the advanced twelfth century. Similarly, the frontal treatment of the bishops in the apse accords with the eleventh-century practice followed at Asinou, whereas in the later twelfth-century examples in Cyprus, as elsewhere, the procession of celebrants was adopted. It was also observed that the iconography of the Perachorio Dormition lacks the elaborations that were prevalent in the twelfth century: the mourning women and their houses and the introduction of a third bishop. But such seemingly "early" features must be viewed with caution; the simplification of the Dormition may well have been due to the unavoidable elongation of the panel assigned to it and to the master's usual concentration on his figures at the expense of background architecture. On the other hand, such "early" elements in the context of a remote and conservative island could be merely *retardataires*.

The latest features of the Perachorio frescoes are a safer index of their date. These carry us into the advanced twelfth century when, for example, the type employed for the Mother of God in the apse was particularly in vogue. The flowered landscape edgings in the Nativity, which derive from miniatures of the time of John II, and the multiplication of the angels in the Baptism point to the same period. The balanced, compartmented type of composition adopted for the Nativity was seen to have good parallels in the late twelfth century and the manner in which the framing elements, such as the mouth of the grotto, conform with the contours of the figures they enclose is a characteristic shared with the Monreale mosaics. It is in the same mosaics that we found the curvilinear drapery patterns centered on disc-like hips that characterize the leading apostles in the Perachorio Ascension. It is at Monreale also that we come closest to the spirited "baroque" type of composition with which this scene and the Communion of the Apostles are enlivened.

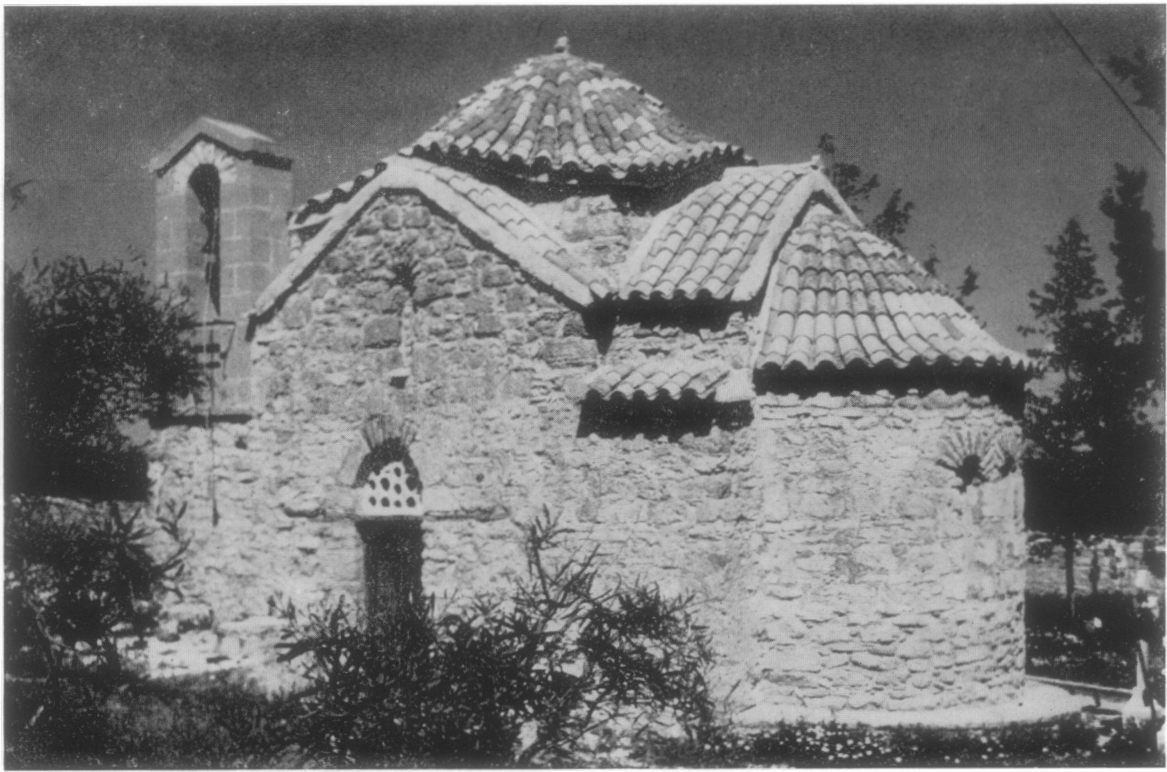
On the other hand, the Perachorio frescoes lack so much that is typical of the closing years of the twelfth century, which are unusually rich in dated monuments, that they can hardly belong to this period. In the Lagoudera church (1192) the iconography of the Nativity is more developed, notably in the treatment of the Magi; the representation of Christ within a mandorla in the Dormition, which the same church shares with Kurbinovo (1191) and later examples, is not found at Perachorio; and the type of the Pantocrator employed in our church has been shown anterior to that of Lagoudera. Likewise in the painted ornament, we have seen that the latter church represents a later stage in development, notably in the excessive vermiculation of the arabesques, and that in this aspect Perachorio has more kinship with the Nerezi frescoes (1164).

As to style, the robust "baroque" of the Perachorio master is surely anterior to the mannered agitation of draperies at Lagoudera, often ill-atuned to the stately figures. Indeed, that convoluted drapery style, which is carried to excess in the Kurbinovo frescoes and in parts of the kindred decoration of the Anargyroi in Kastoria, is best understood as a "roccoco" derivative of a preceding phase of full-blooded "baroque." Such a phase can be postulated for one of the schools of Constantinople in the light of its reflections in the Djurdjevi Stupovi fragments (after 1168), now in Belgrade, and in the Monreale mosaics, which were set in the eighties. This phase the Perachorio frescoes also reflect, and even clarify to some extent.

In the architecture of this modest church there is nothing that conflicts with the testimony of its decoration. Indeed, it is relevant to recall the observation that the building has no trace of the pointed arch, which, to judge by its use at Lagoudera and elsewhere, was already current in Cyprus before the end of the twelfth century. For this provides a *terminus ante quem*, about the year 1180, for church and frescoes alike, if we may assume that the building was decorated as soon as it was completed, following the usual practice. All the indications thus point to the conclusion that the church was built and decorated in the latter part of the reign of Manuel I, probably between the years 1160 and 1180.

Two further conclusions seem justified, regarding the connections and caliber of the master responsible for this decoration. His distinctive style does not reappear in the considerable number of twelfth-century frescoes surviving in Cyprus. The orthodoxy of his program is impaired by only a few concessions to local requirements, such as the prominence given to figures of the Cypriot church in the series of bishops and the transfer of the Dormition to the north wall, as at Lagoudera. Despite the diminutive size of the building, he has skillfully avoided any feeling of compression, but has achieved a homogeneity of scale and a monumental quality often lacking in churches of larger size. Lastly, the verve of his drawing, well illustrated by the sketches exposed at so many points to reveal a Hellenistic elegance and calligraphic quality of line, offers a telling contrast to the pedestrian passages finished by his assistants. These merits are not marks of a provincial; rather do they attest a painter close to one of the schools of Constantinople itself.

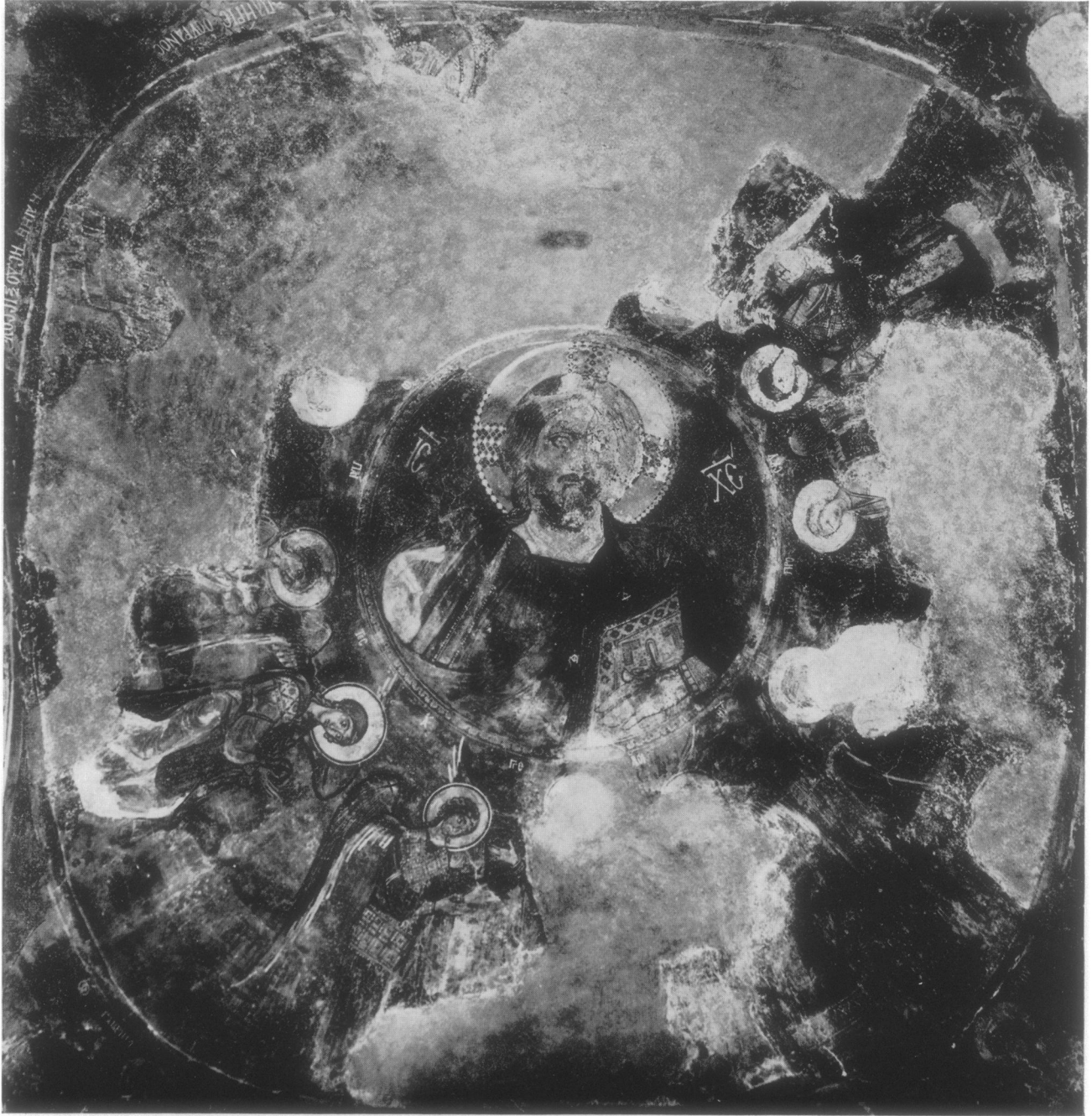
Furthermore, whatever equipment the master brought with him to Cyprus, either tangible or in the form of his own training and experience, the study of his work at Perachorio has shown him to be no slavish copyist, but a creative artist who composed his scenes as he sketched them on the walls, and who was ready to experiment with new rhythms of form and color. In the somewhat flamboyant style of a complex composition in depth, such as his *Metalepsis*, or of the contorted figures in his Ascension, he may conform with a trend of his time, but inherent in this aspect of the Late Comnenian renaissance was a new latitude for the individual painter, a latitude which has given several of the Perachorio frescoes, to an unusual degree, the character of distinctive personal creations.



1. View from the Southeast



2. Interior, looking East
Cyprus, Perachorio. Church of the Holy Apostles



3. Dome. Pantocrator and Angels



4. Pantocrator



5. Dome. Procession of Angels



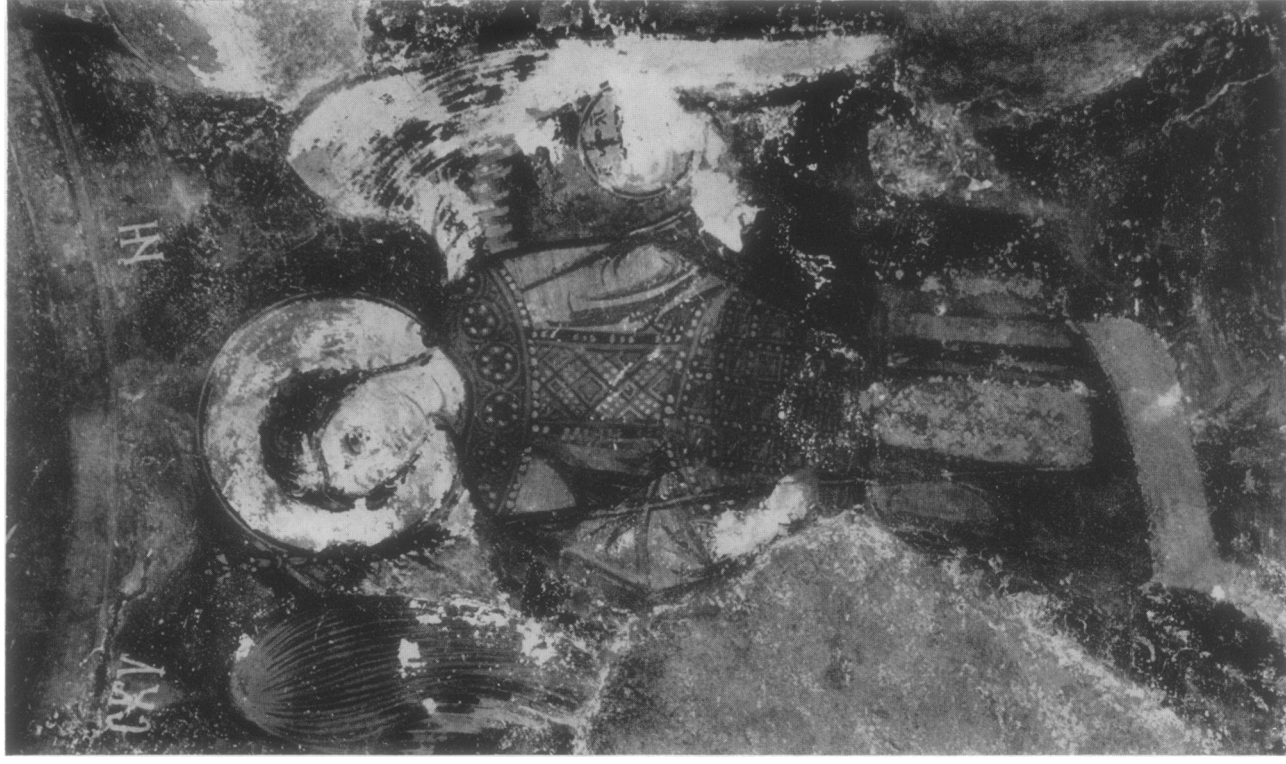
6. Procession of Angels, Second Angel on the North



7. Third Angel on the North, detail

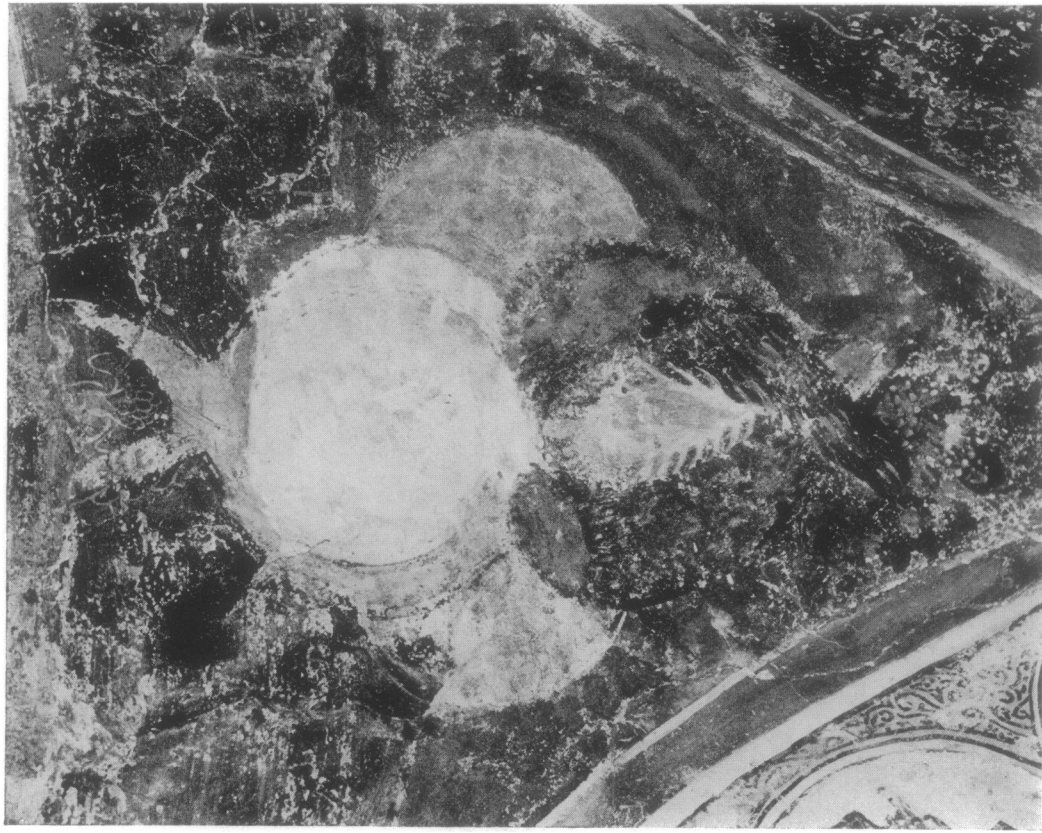


8. First Angel on the North, detail



9. Fourth Angel on the South

Procession of Angels



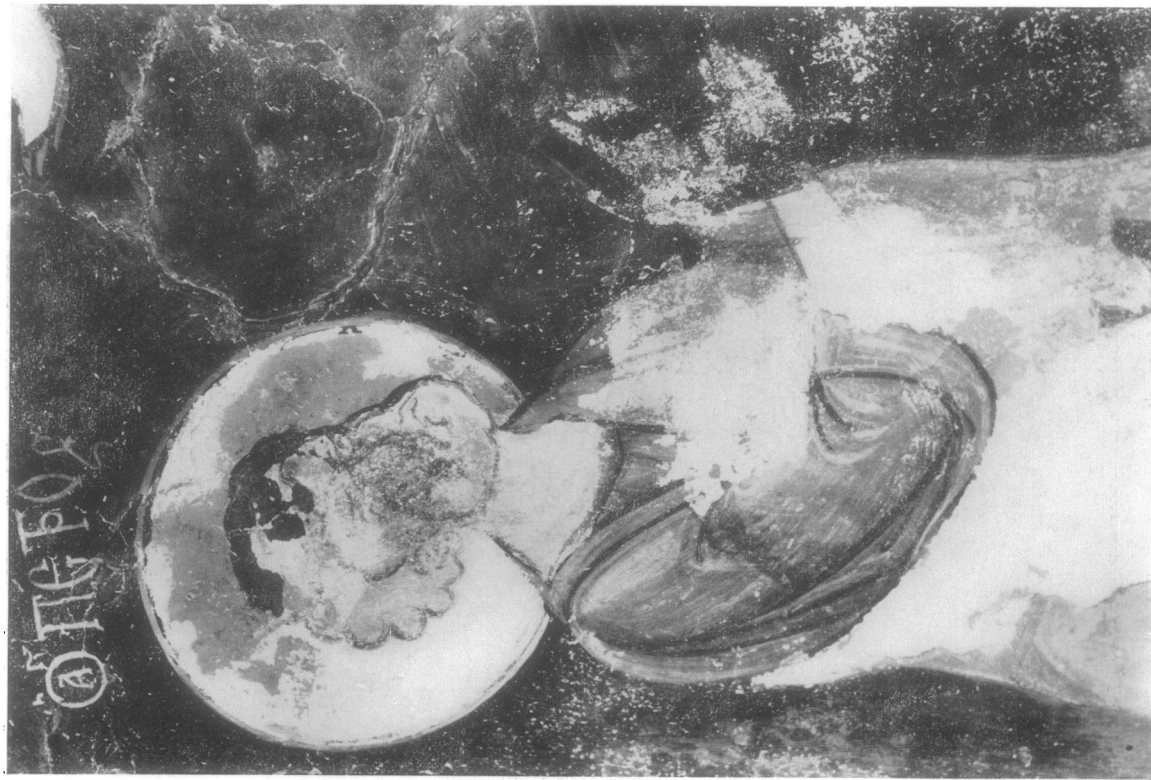
10. Southwest Pendentive. Tetramorph



11. Northwest Pendentive. Hexapterygon



12. Conch of the Apse. Blachernitissa, Saints Peter and Paul



13. Detail of St. Peter



14. Detail of St. Paul

Conch of Apse



15. Blachernitissa, detail of Head



16. Blachernitissa, detail of Christ (1946)



17. Ascension, detail of Angel



18. Conch. Head of St. Paul (1946)



20. Conch. St. Paul

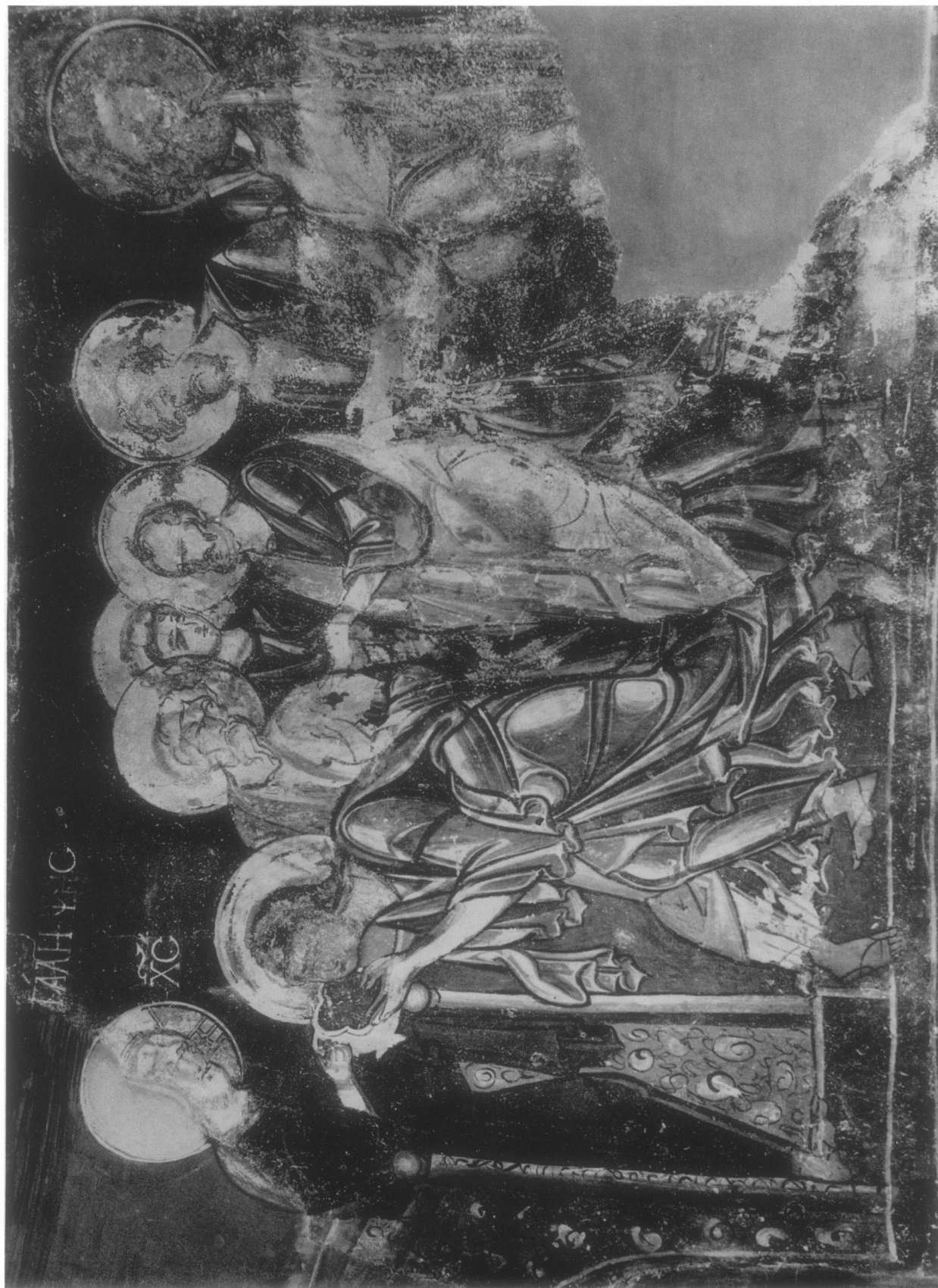


19. Below Window. St. Epiphanius

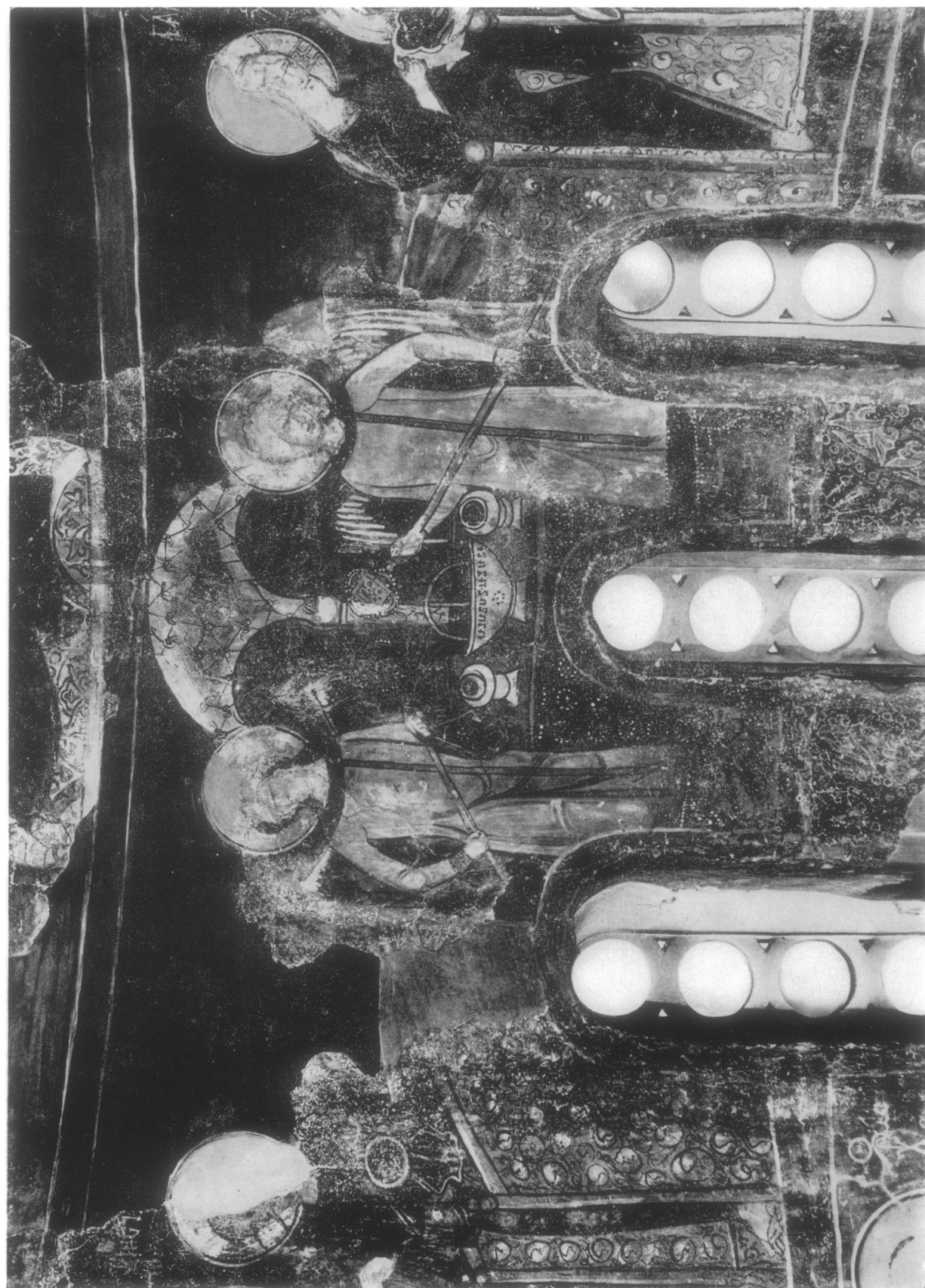
Details from the Apse



21. *Metadosis*



22. *Metalepsis*



23. Communion of the Apostles, Central Section



24. St. John Receives the Wine



25. Saints Andrew, Philip(?), and Paul

Details from the *Metalepsis*



26. Saints Lazarus, Gregory the Theologian, and John Chrysostom



27. Saints Basil, Nicholas, and Athanasius



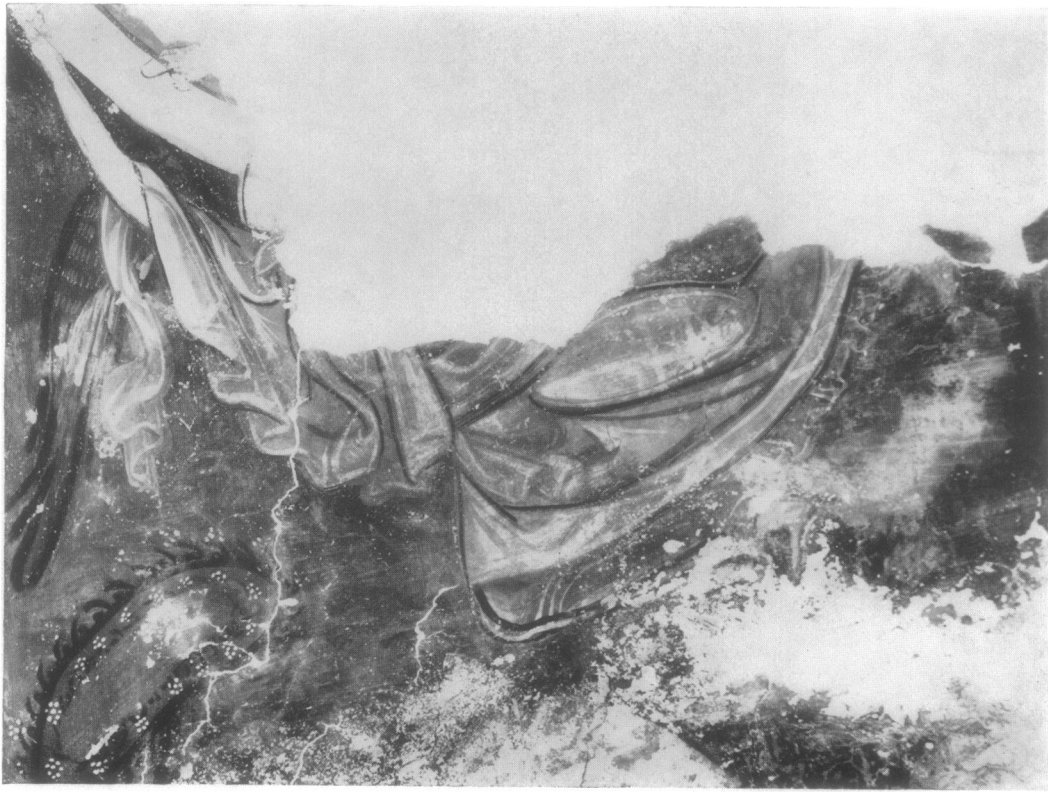
28. Annunciation, Gabriel



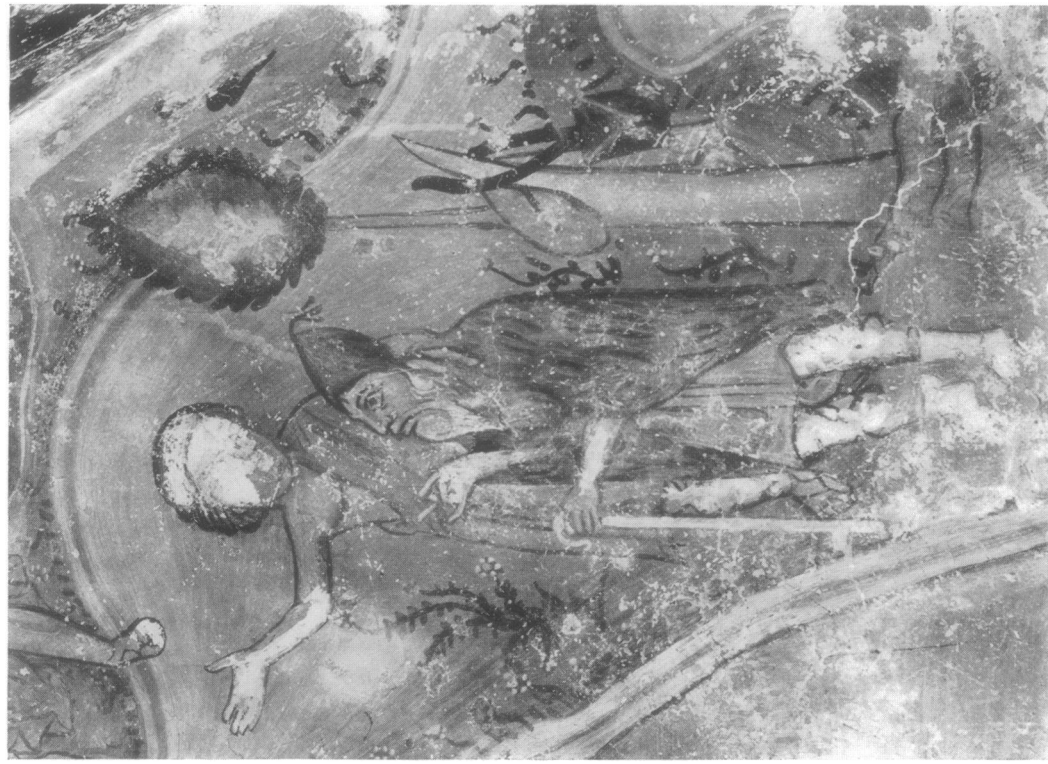
29. Annunciation, the Mother of God



30. Nativity



31. Ascension, detail of Flying Angel



32. Nativity, detail of Shepherds



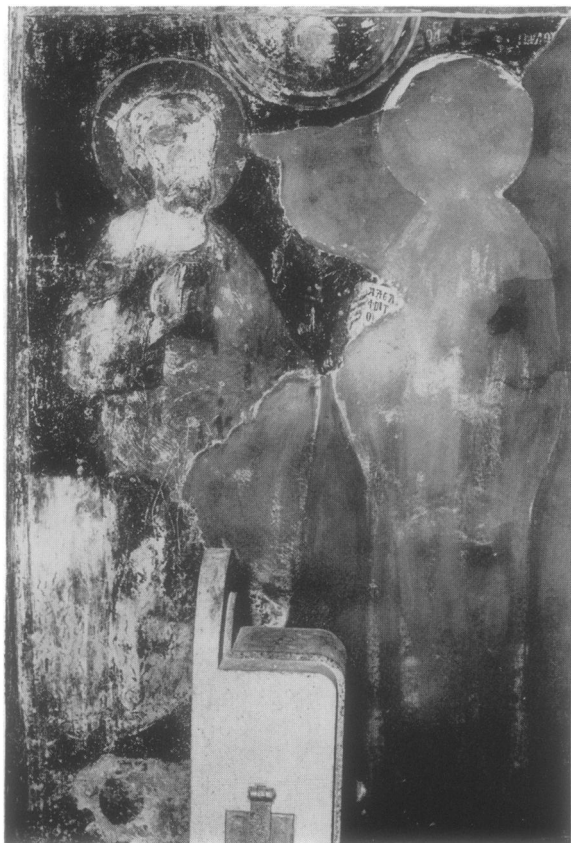
33. Nativity, the Bathing of the Child



34. Presentation



35. Baptism



36. Saints Peter and Paul



37. Dormition, detail



38. Ascension, North Side



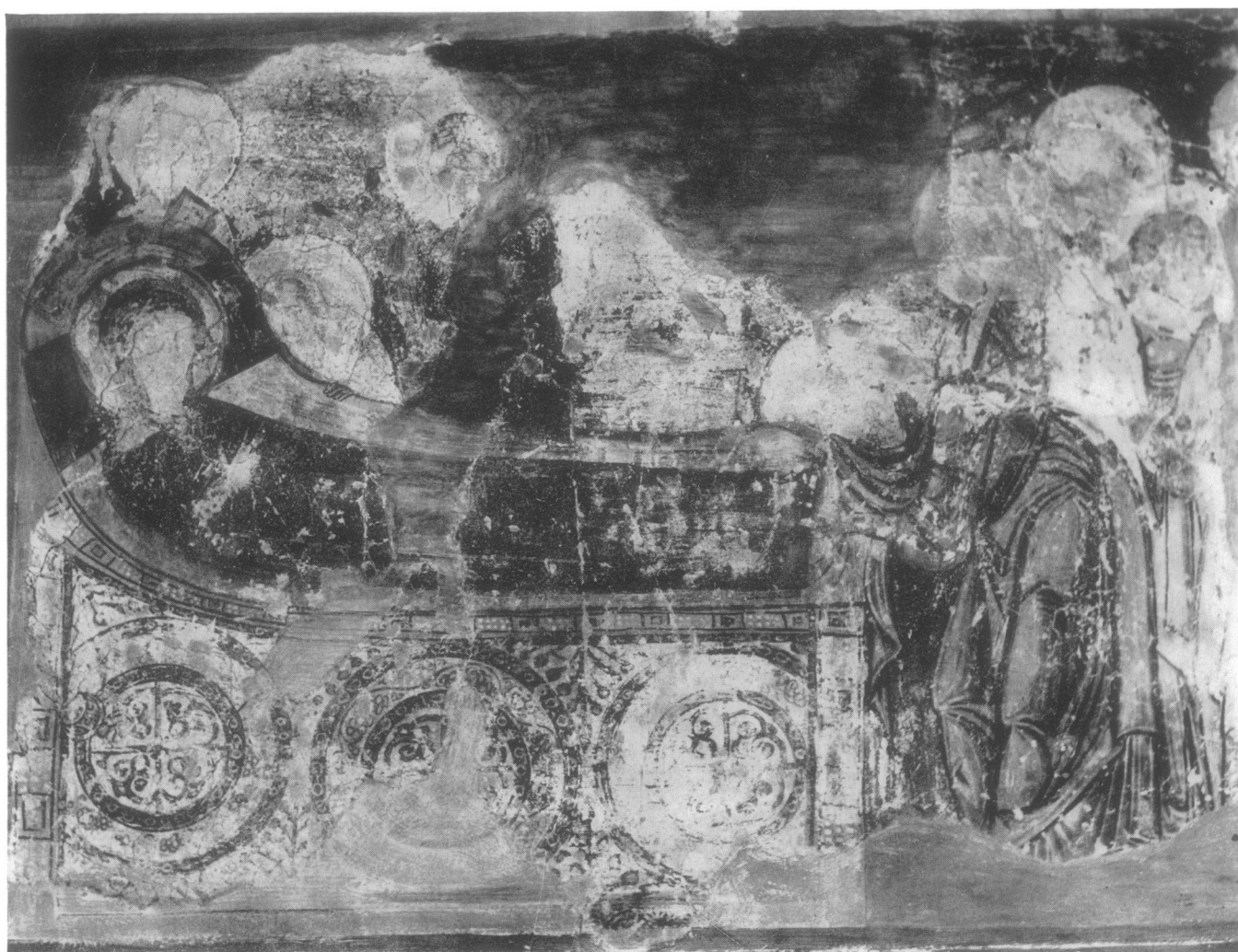
39. Ascension, South Side



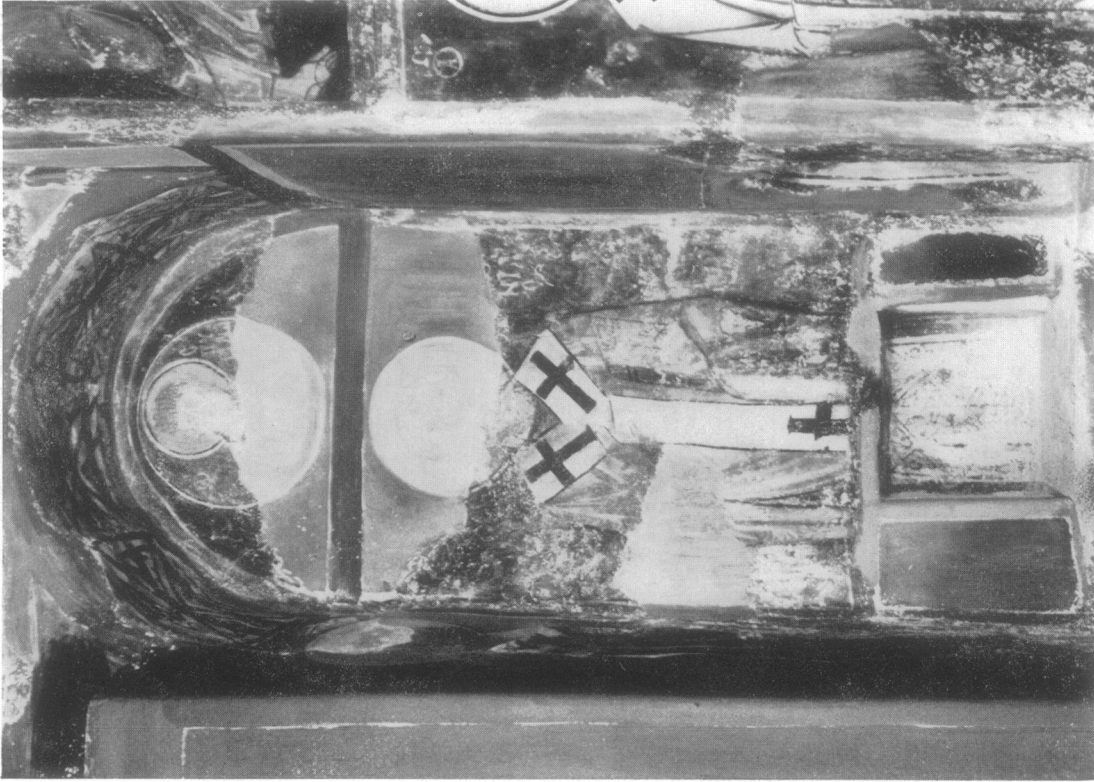
40. Abraham and another Patriarch



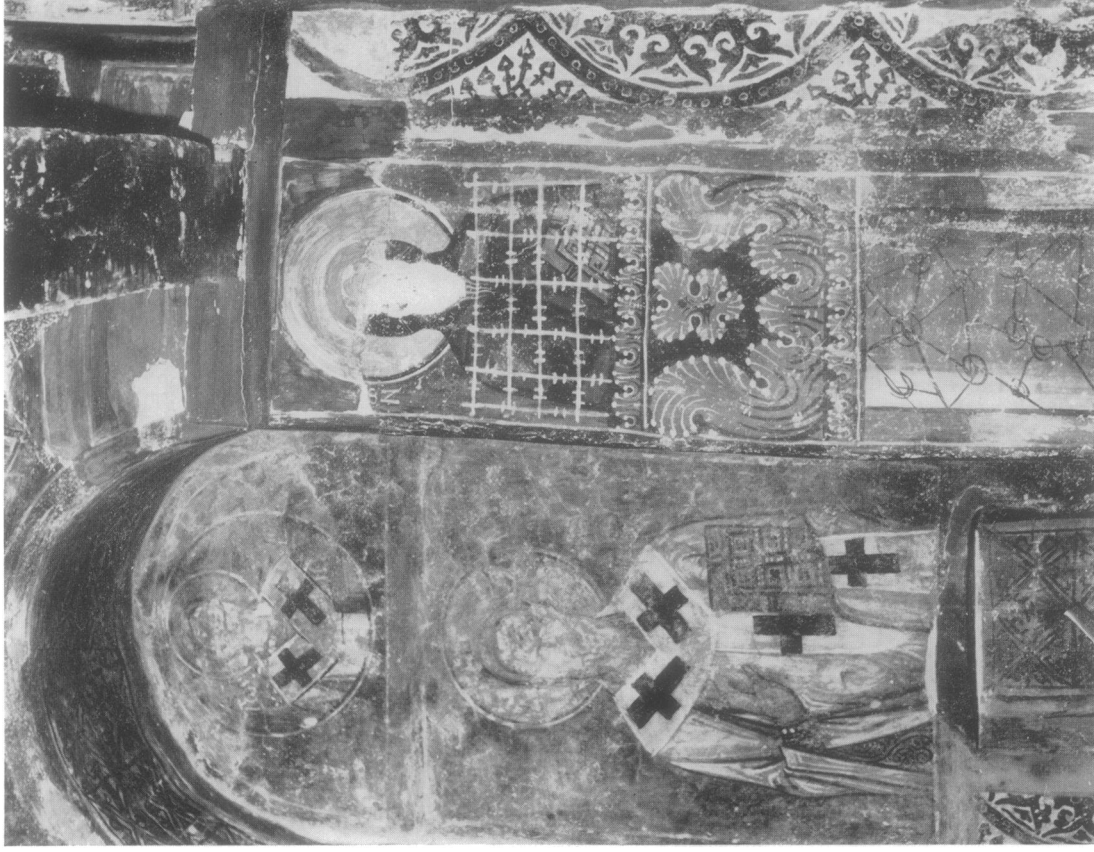
41. Patriarch on North Wall



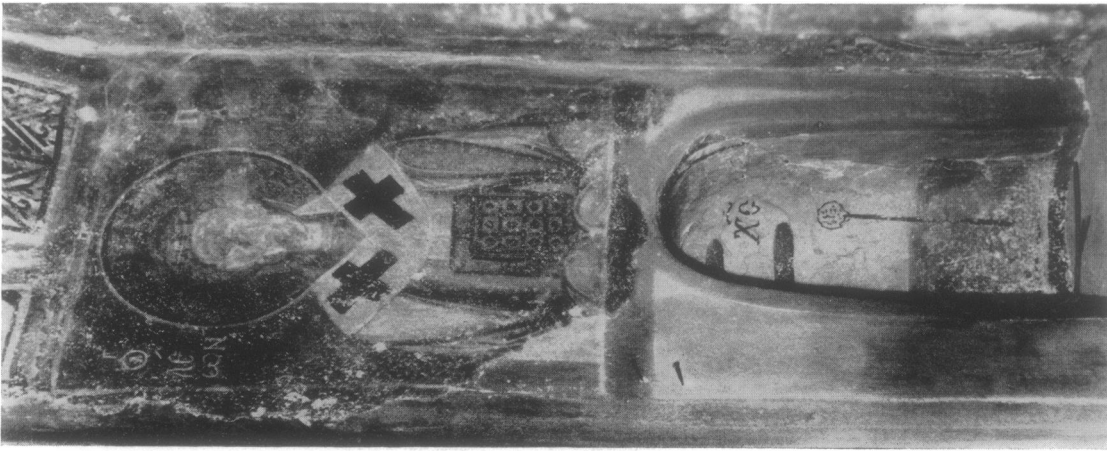
42. Dormition, Central Section



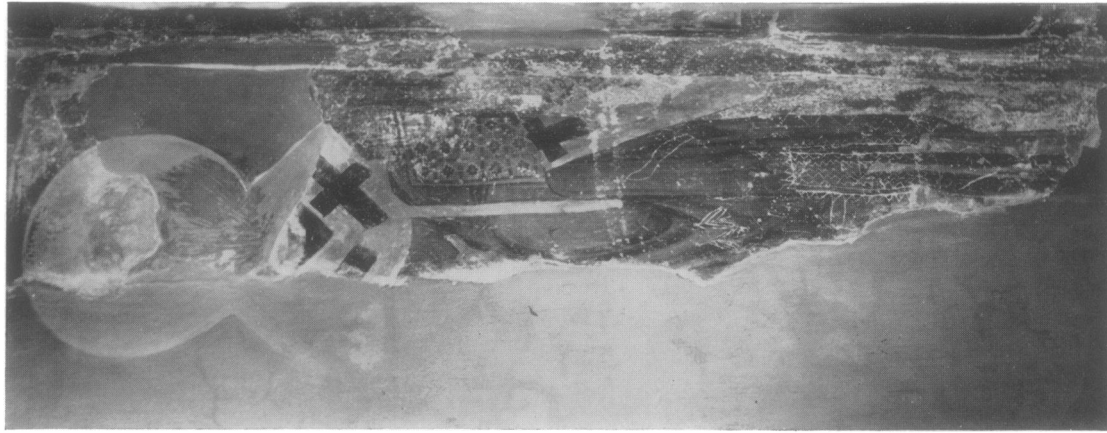
43. Saints Spyridon and Macedonius



44. Saints John (Lampadistis?), Heracleidus, and Symeon Stylites



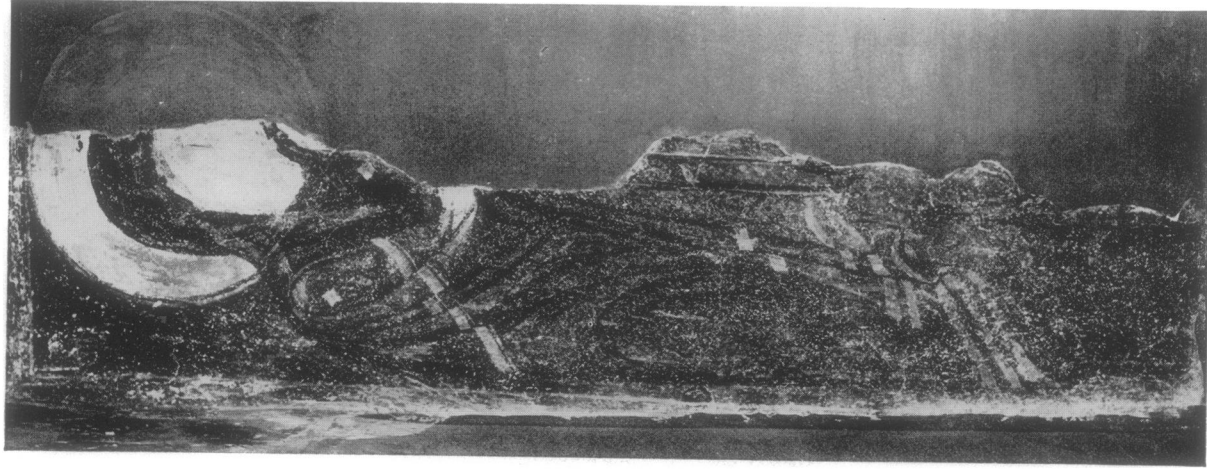
45. St. Leo, Pope of Rome



46. Unidentified Saint



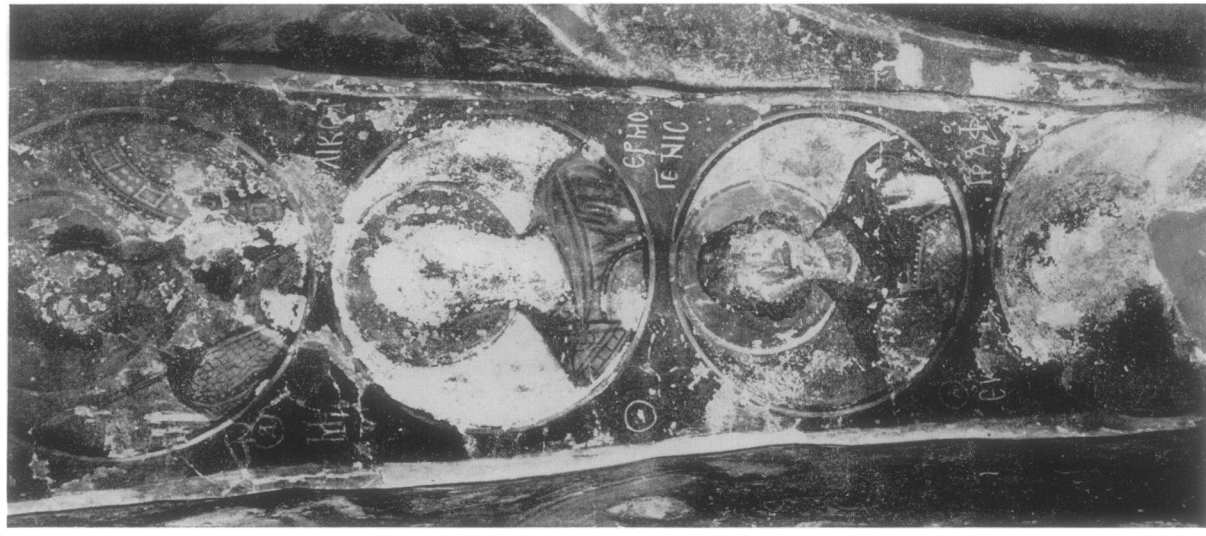
47. St. Cyril



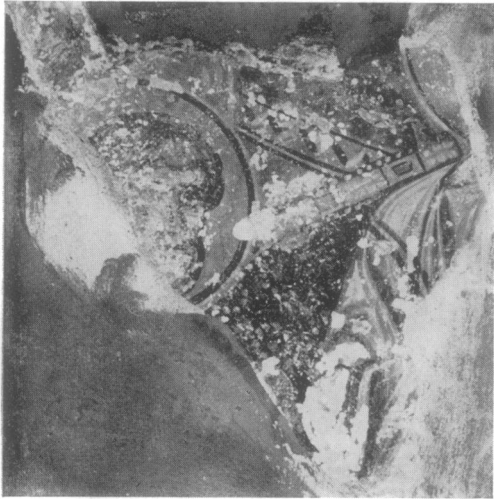
48. Deesis, the Mother of God



49. St. Gregory the Theologian



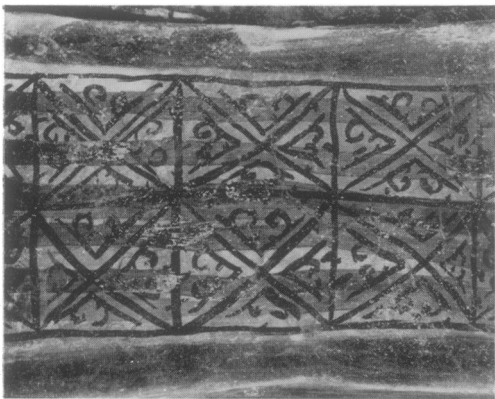
50. Holy Martyrs



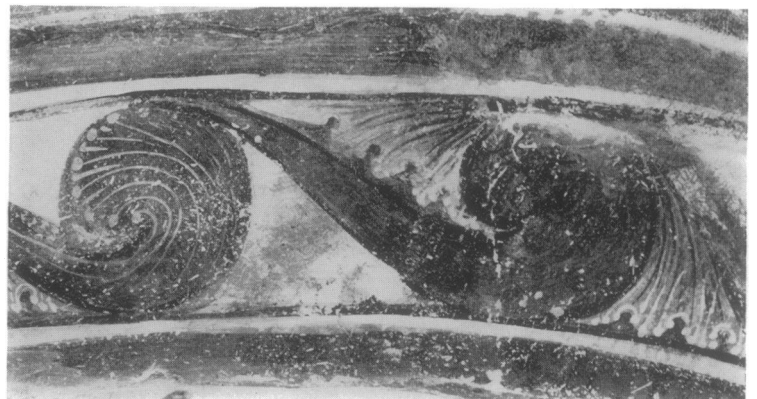
51. Fragment from Pentecost?



52. South Arch of Dome



53. Soffit of South Recess of Bema



54. East Arch of Dome



55. Soffit of North Recess of Bema



56. Apse Arch